WHICH WAY IS TRUMAN HEADED? by VIRGINIA GARDNER

NEW MASSES

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IS EUROPE DEAD?

Some thoughts for would-be grave-diggers by HANS BERGER

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC TRADITION by DR. JOSEPH WORTIS

SPEAKING OF SOCIALISM

by A. B. MAGIL

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

Leonardo da Vinci and the Vatican, by Waldo Salt; Next Play in Greece, by Demetrios Christophorides; The World Is a Globe, by Joel Bradford.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

WE LOOK forward, around the first of October, to the publication of a new cultural journal, the *Hollywood Quarterly*. The magazine will be put out jointly by the Hollywood Writers Mobilization and the University of California, and will be published by the University of California Press. Editors representing the Mobilization are Kenneth Macgowan and John Howard Lawson (who is also one of NM's contributing editors), and from the University, Dr. Franklin Fearing, Dr. Franklin Rolfe and Samuel T. Farquhar.

The *Quarterly*, which is to be non-political, will deal with the three most powerful mass media of communication —the screen, radio, and television. Plans are to publish comprehensive articles which will thoroughly go into all the phases of these media—technical, creative and social.

Featured in the first issue will be Alexander Knox, the actor who played Woodrow Wilson, Lester Cole, screen writer, Dorothy B. Jones, magazine writer on films and OWI motion picture analyst, Gail Kaluk, composer, Irving Pichel, screen director and actor, and Dr. Franklin Fearing, professor of psychology at the University of California.

To us, the idea is exciting not only because of the public's great interest in the subje matter and material to be handled, but se it represents a practical and valu union of forces—it joins an orga ion of working professional write n many fields, and the educators of an important university, in a creative attempt to deal seriously with every aspect of the screen, radio and television. Socially and esthetically, this combination is invaluable.

The new venture is non-commercial. A subscription for one year is four dollars; single copies will be a dollar and twenty-five cents. If you're interested, address the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, 1655 North Cherokee, Hollywood 28, Calif.

CLARE LUCE may live in Connecticut, but her severest critics are certainly far from her best friends, including those of the theater who attended her recent performance in *Candida*. Last week NM's editor Joseph North spoke to two representative groups of Connecticut's residents—in Hartford and New Haven. None of them—need we resort to the obvious?—was a friend of the state's Congresswoman. Because that would have been impossible: they were people of all professions and groups, who had a sincere, we-want-to-do-something-about-the-problems-of-today attitude. Joseph North spoke, and afterward they asked questions about almost everything which concerned them. They have reason to be concerned, for they live in a state which was a particularly heavy center of industry during the war—and reconversion means difficult adjustment there, as in many other similar localities. One thing they did decide to do. They felt it important that NM be a part of the state's public libraries—and they raised $135 to buy subscriptions for the magazine so that hundreds more people might have access to it on the reference shelves of their town reading place.

We hope this will be done everywhere. Many libraries do not subscribe simply because their budget is limited. A number of letters have come in which indicate the desire on the part of readers, however, and we would like briefly to quote one:

"We regret that our budget will not permit us to renew our subscription to your magazine.

"Since your publication is read by many servicemen who visit our Club we sincerely hope that one of your donors may feel it advisable to donate a subscription."

That was sent by the National Jewish Welfare Board, USO, in Philadelphia. There have been others. Please have a look at the back cover, and give the idea some thought.

HANS BERGER is an expert on central European affairs. . . . Demetrios Christophorides is editor of the *Greek-American Tribune*. . . . Louis Harap just returned from several years' service overseas. . . . Helen Berlin has worked on the staff of various magazines and in book publishing houses, and has reviewed for other publications. . . . Herbert Aptheker's reviews are well known to NM's readers. He is the author of *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States*. . . . Waldo Salt is a screen writer.

M. DE A.

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WHICH WAY IS TRUMAN GOING?

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington

WHEN you come into the oval room with the floor-long windows where the President holds his press conferences, you find, instead of the studied ease and indifference which Mr. Roosevelt's face usually mirrored when confronted with his pillory artists, the bright smile of Harry Truman. His head turns quickly, in almost bird-like fashion, as he recognizes here and there a news man with a personal glance. With the throng once in—and at last week's it was a mob—President Truman, standing, his brown eyes bright behind their glasses, begins. His speech is simple; he answers questions with short, abrupt, decisive answers. He is pleasant. He isn't touchy, as Roosevelt often was with the press. He prides himself on not being evasive. He has a good press, in short, and he obviously is anxious to keep it.

But the smile is not entirely easy. Standing up in front, with the mob of reporters pressing from the rear and breathing on your neck, you feel that perhaps his smile is maintained too long for comfort. It's as if he were a master of ceremonies, a trifle eager as he trots out one piece of news after another. He has a lot of it. The newspaper boys have found their ideal. No equivocation—his answers are direct. In nine minutes, bang, bang, bang, he has given out news worth about four columns in type.

In his effort to please, and his determination to be rough and ready with authoritative answers, the President occasionally pulls a boner, however. I remember at one of his early press conferences he was asked if he planned to see Molotov, who was on his way to San Francisco. Yes, the President said, looking around, he thought it was only proper that Molotov should stop off to see the President of the United States when he was in this country. He got a laugh, and pencils scratched feverishly. It was one of the cocky Truman remarks that he tosses off much as an amateur MC might—things that would go over swell with the boys at a Rotarian dinner in Independence, Mo., but which, if they are mulled over for hidden profundities, are completely baffling.

This is the sort of thing he has done regarding former Director of Economic Stabilization William H. Davis and Davis' comment to the press, purportedly to the effect that he, Davis, was for a fifty percent increase in wages in the postwar period, but not for any increase in prices. This time, though, the President was not smiling. Asked about the Davis statement, Truman snapped that he was not speaking for the administration when he said that. Then when someone asked what would become of Davis, since the Office of Economic Stabilization was going into the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, Truman replied that he wouldn't have anything to do now, John Snyder could do it all. He smiled brightly and looked around for approval.

I couldn't help thinking, as the reporters filed out past the brisk man with the friendly air in the double-breasted suit, who's apparently so anxious to please the press, of what his chief press aide, Charles Ross, told me. This was long before he went to work for his former fellow resident of Independence, Mo., and Ross, familiarly known as Charlie by every newspaper editor in Missouri, was heading the Washington bureau of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. I had gone to see him to get material for a story about Truman immediately after his nomination for the Vice Presidency. I remember Ross saying what a good boy Harry Truman had been, how everybody had liked him. He was the most average boy in the world, he said. There was nothing brilliant about him. But he was so nice. He used to trudge to music lessons with his music in a roll, and anyone else who carried a music roll would have been afraid of ridicule. But Harry wasn't. He wore glasses, and carried a music roll, but no one laughed. He just smiled at everyone and was nice, and no one thought him a sissy.

Truman loves to play the piano for the boys in the Gridiron Club—that homey club for reactionary correspondents in Washington, where it used to be the boys could gather and tell anti-Roosevelt jokes in elegant semi-privacy, pleasantly cooking up the next day's column as they washed down a little labor-baiting with their Scotch. Like the boy with the music roll who was so anxious to be liked, Truman is accepted at the Gridiron even though he is a Democrat. In spite of being hurt and puzzled by Truman's message to Congress I understand the solid correspondents immediately began seeking solace in their own rationalizations. In effect they forgave him because they figured that Truman had to go on with the Roosevelt part, but that his heart wasn't in the performance.

THE Washington *Post* carried an editorial on that last press conference of Truman's—at which he pulled another boner. Asked about MacArthur's statement that he would need only 200,000 men, Truman hesitated only a second. Then he went on, saying it was good that he wouldn't need so many men, and so on. It was as if he were trying to show that he knew what was going on and didn't want to disappoint the reporters. Actually, you couldn't tell what he meant—but it was variously reported that he was "sarcastic," "puzzled" and that he gave MacArthur "wholehearted support." Later Acting Secretary of State Acheson set the record straight. MacArthur was supposed to follow foreign policy, not set it. And so on. Meanwhile Mr. Davis claimed he had been pilloried for something he didn't say, and the President called him in, and issued a long statement on what he meant to say and what Mr. Davis really had said, etc. Now the *Post* writes: "The desire always to say something in answer to any and all questions is a desire that ought to be curbed in the presidential office. President Truman's reputation for the forthright approach will not suffer if he does not try constantly to live up to it."

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A Great Meeting

THERE were bated breaths that Tuesday night. The Communists were meeting in Madison Square Garden to celebrate the twenty-sixth anniversary of their party's birth. This was the first big Communist meeting since the recent drastic changes in Communist policy and leadership. Both well-wishers and ill-wishers looked upon that meeting as a kind of test. As luck would have it, the elements were on the side of the devil. It took courage to venture into the chilly, rain-drenched streets.

But what a meeting it proved to be! Eighteen thousand men and women came to demonstrate their comradeship and their faith in the party of socialism. Theirs was a militant mood and the meeting expressed that mood. From William Z. Foster's challenging indictment of the "imperialistic foreign policies of the administration," through the speeches of Eugene Dennis, Councilmen Ben Davis, Jr. and Peter V. Cacchione, Robert Thompson, Bella V. Dodd and Israel Amter, to the last song of the sparkling concert review the gathering was vigorously alive, expressive of American and world reality.

Testimony to the vitality of the American Communist movement has also come in an oblique fashion: the so-called House Committee on Un-American Activities, minus Martin Dies but still carrying on in his spirit, this week called to Washington for grilling William Z. Foster, Ben Davis and other Communist leaders. Paced by the fascist Hearst press, and dominated by the anti-Semitic, Negro-baiting Representative Rankin of Mississippi, this new Dies Committee hopes by attacking the most advanced sector of American democracy to strike at the labor movement and all progressives. In calling for the defense of the Communists Rep. Vito Marcantonio declared: "If this attack is permitted to go without adequate and crushing opposition, every American is put in danger of losing the freedom for which thousands of American boys have fought and died on far-flung battlefronts in the war against fascism."

In self-defense we urge you to write Speaker Sam Rayburn of the House and your Congressmen demanding a halt to these Hitlerite indecencies. —THE EDITORS.

Whatever amends the President tries to make now, the impression remains that Davis was banished, in this case back to whatever a millionaire patent lawyer does in private life. And while Davis certainly was never a favorite character with the labor people who used to appear before him at the War Labor Board, and this reporter for one never cared for his particular form of heavily cute badinage, Davis looks good these days beside Lewis Schwellenbach, new Secretary of Labor. It also has to be admitted that Davis not only thought of himself as, but was, the chief exponent in government circles of decent minimum wages. At last December's hearings of the Pepper Wartime Health Committee, for instance, Davis' questioners tried to put him on the spot. But he said, in supporting Senate Joint Resolution #48, to provide a definition of substandard wages as below sixty-five cents:

"I think at the present level of prices you are not going to destroy the American economy by such a move as that [adoption of the resolution]. And, after all, people who are rejected from the Selective Service are not peculiarly useful producers in the factories, either." It had been pointed out by other witnesses that the proportion of rejectees was larger in the South and other low-wage areas, where disease and poverty and illiteracy flourished.

The resolution died with the last Congress, incidentally, but was introduced as Senate Joint Resolution #11 in the 79th Congress. It has been reported favorably by the subcommittee and is now before the full Committee on Education and Labor. Meanwhile hearings began September 25 on the more vigorous Pepper bill, which would make sixty-five cents mandatory as a minimum wage.

This promises to involve as bitter a struggle as the Kilgore unemployment compensation bill, which was so effectively undermined when it was revealed that Truman had written a secret memo to the Senate Finance Committee. When the bill reached the floor and Sen. Harley M. Kilgore (D., W. Va.) tried to get the twenty-five-dollar-a-week provision before the Senators for a vote, Sen. Arthur Vandenburg (R., Mich.) gloatingly alluded to the now well-publicized memo indicating that the twenty-five-dollar-a-week feature was not "indispensable"—only "desirable." And Sen. Tom Connally (D., Tex.), who had voted for it in committee, then voted against it. The bill, originally slated as "must legislation," had lost prestige—and so had the President.

LABOR people are beginning to wonder if labor is the only section of the population that Mr. Truman is not striving to make a hit with. Some are even convinced that the President has been listening sympathetically to Democratic Party leaders who are making a bold bid to go all-out on the theory that the Democrats can't lose labor in the next elections.

Whatever is the case, Truman appears to be playing a part, or a game. There is an air of unreality about it all. You read his message to Congress, and then you read his secret memo. They don't seem to be written by the same man. You hear him snap out at Davis in a way which tips the President's mitt on what he thinks about wage rises. Is this the same man who underwrites a sixteen-point program which Joe Martin, Republican whip of the House, complains out-New Deals the New Deal?

In two fields every President can be judged: in the appointments he makes, and in liaison-pressure. This is true no matter how Mr. Truman banks on a sort of states' rights theory applied to Washington—that it is not his fault if Messrs. Doughton and George, respectively of the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees, are not moved by his messages on unemployment compensation, that the powers are separated and Congress is just as powerful as he. Roosevelt had much less in the way of a following in Congress to play on than Truman when it came to liason. (Sen. George D. Aiken [R., Vt.] said dryly the other day that it was time Truman began making a few enemies.) But FDR did it differently. Doughton and George were intransigent when it came to his tax program.

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But FDR didn't send up to the Hill to represent him a former police commissioner. Truman did. The former police commissioner, George Allen, who also has a hand in writing some of Truman's speeches, was the author and bearer of the secret memo.

Surrounding the President are people like Col. Harry Vaughn, a former sergeant to whom Truman was devoted when Vaughan was his senatorial secretary, and Matt Connelly, former executive head of the Truman War Investigating Committee staff, and Allen, and Les Biffle, secretary of the Senate. Conceivably they might be comfortable friends at a game of pinochle, but not exactly inspiring as experts on the technical level.

Moreover, contrast Roosevelt's reactions when his tax messages were flouted. He vetoed one bill with a powerful message that it provided relief for the greedy, not the needy. Congress did not sustain his veto—but there was no doubt in the mind of anyone that Roosevelt abominated the bill, that he had convictions on it.

Truman is said to have told one administration Senator recently that he was not worried about labor, that Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach would meet the problems. And one of Schwellenbach's newly appointed temporary aides said that the department's policy was to leave everything to public opinion. Public opinion was very well informed, he said—and then of course there was always the possibility of legislative action in case public opinion couldn't control the situation.

Obviously the Ball-Burton-Hatch anti-labor bill will serve as the heavy interference, with a milder but still vicious cooling-off bill having open or concealed administration backing.

AND while liberals stream away from Washington, men like Bennett Champ Clark, who was defeated for reelection to the Senate, are returning to it. Clark had Truman's endorsement in the campaign despite his anti-labor, isolationist record. Now, Clark being an old friend, the President has appointed him to the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. He has appointed Alexander Holtzoff, special assistant to the Attorney General, to the vacancy in the US District Court for the District of Columbia. Holtzoff was approved speedily by the Senate Judiciary Committee, which delved into the Roosevelt appointment for the same post of Municipal Court Judge Nathan Margold and finally rejected it, although evidence was that much of the hostility to his appointment was due to anti-Semitism. Holtzoff's appointment was objected to by Louis McCabe of Philadelphia, vice president of the National Lawyers Guild, which had submitted a brief to the Supreme Court in 1940 when it named Holtzoff on a committee to reorganize federal procedure, objecting to his inclusion. Holtzoff was counsel for the FBI and in testimony before congressional committees he defended wire-tapping, calling it merely "elongated eavesdropping."

Another appointee, E. Barrett Prettyman, for the Court of Appeals, is counsel for the Capital Transit Co., flagrant violator of Fair Employment Practice Committee directives. The company consistently has refused to hire Negroes as motormen and bus drivers, despite such a labor shortage that buses crowded Washington lots, unused.

Sen. Harold Burton (R., O.) is largely identified in the minds of the public with the Ball-Burton-Hatch omnibus restrictive labor act. His appointment to the Supreme Court, and Truman's throwing the WLB, the War Manpower Commission and the US Employment Service—which the Senate now has voted to turn back to the states under the turn-tail leadership of Scott W. Lucas (D., Ill.), earlier a backer of the Kilgore bill—into the Department of Labor, was hailed by the New York *Daily News*. In an editorial on the appointments and the ousting of Davis the *News*, member of the McCormick-Patterson axis, concluded: ". . . President Truman is plainly setting his course toward nomination and election to a full term as President in 1948. He may make the grade, too, since the Republicans at present have developed no intelligible strategy against him and he is widely popular."

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., member of the national board of the Communist Party, whom the new Dies Committee is "investigating" in an effort to prevent his reelection to the New York City Council. The Citizens Nonpartisan Committee to Reelect Davis, composed of Negroes and whites, has attacked the subpoenaing of Davis as "un-American interference in free elections."

BUT the American people are thinking of 1945 and will judge the President by what he does rather than by what he says and the way he smiles. Labor is beginning to move. CIO President Philip Murray told an impressive delegation of 1,040 trade unionists, who marched from the Union Station to the Capitol to let their demands be heard on the Kilgore bill, that three principal planks in the President's sixteen-point program "are threatened by lack of any organized effort by the administration or its supporters." These were the Kilgore bill, the Murray Full Employment bill and the Pepper minimum wage bill.

Conceivably the administration still could talk out of both sides of its mouth, or talk and not act, under the Murray bill, but the sixty-five cents measure will draw sharp opposition. Rep. Frank Hook (D., Mich.) and others have introduced the same bill in the House. Rep. Ellis Patterson (D., Cal.) has introduced the broadest and best bill. One of the most controversial and vital parts of the Hook bill is that it would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to include agricultural processing workers, now excluded. The usual anti-labor forces, the big citrus lobbies of California and Texas, the Associated Farmers spokesmen and the Texas anti-labor Christian Front, will be fighting the bill.

This is no narrow labor bill, as its enemies will seek to portray it. It has the broadest significance in terms of the nation's health and purchasing power. It will be one of the tests of President Truman and his administration.

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IS EUROPE DEAD?

By HANS BERGER

RECENTLY the New York *Times* in a lead editorial in its Sunday edition (September 9) stated that "Europe's power and influence have declined, relative to the new powers that have emerged and it will be for Europe itself to determine whether its decline shall be both absolute and permanent." In the same editorial the Americas are called the "heirs of European civilization." The *Times* also defines Europe as a continent minus the Soviet Union and England. Now I don't wish to argue about this particular piece of surgery by which the USSR is cut away from the body of Europe. What I want to get at is the historical contempt which the *Times* has for the remainder of Europe and the easy way in which it appoints the Americas as its heirs.

The least to be said about this point of view is that Europe's death is very much exaggerated. Nor is there any sign that the continent is ready to appoint the Americas or anybody else as its heirs. Europe is not lying down to the eternal peace of the graveyard. As a matter of fact, he who has eyes to see will discover that there never existed such a will to live as there is in Europe today. Never have there been on the Continent so many countries and so many millions freed from old reactionary and semi-feudal institutions—peoples and countries that know their enemies, know the road to progress and are all, almost at the same time, doing something about it. Never before have there been in Europe so many millions resolute to defend their new freedoms, to exploit all the new opportunities that have come with the victorious struggle against fascism, to destroy what has to be destroyed historically and to build anew what human progress demands. The Hungarian peasant kept in bondage since the sixteenth century has been liberated. The Polish, the Rumanian, even the German peasant, see the semi-feudal *grandseigneur* go down, and helps him go down, drives him into exile and makes him lose all his age-old vested interests.

True it is that in Italy those who wield American and British bayonets are behaving as though they would like to be the heirs of Europe's feudalism by delaying unavoidable agricultural reforms; true, too, that Franco and Salazar are kept in power by American and British benevolence and can prevent for a little longer the Spanish and Portuguese peasants from taking away the lands from the parasites. But it is clear that the European peasants are not dying, that they are in motion in one of the greatest movements Europe has seen since the great peasant wars of the sixteenth century. From subjugation to fascism, to reaction and to the big landlords, *they are becoming the allies of the workers and other progressive forces.* They are demanding a better life, modern techniques, modern education and active participation in the national life of their countries.

These peasant movements and reforms, breaking down the bonds of endless years, go hand in hand with the creation of new types of democratic states led by the parties of the workers in coalition with the parties of the peasants and middle class. For the first time in the history of Europe, Poland and the Balkan countries are on their way towards becoming modern progressive states not to be suppressed by corrupt cliques operating under the auspices of foreign interests. For twenty-two years Italy was dying under fascism. And what tremendous popular forces, what a tremendous democratic upsurge there is in the Italy of today. And look at France, with a Communist Party of 1,000,000 members, fighting the traitors and those who would save them. And even in Germany—only a few months after the defeat of Hitler—the Communists, Socialists, and parties of the middle class are getting together, carrying through in the Russian zone the expropriation of the Junkers, and are building the foundations for a new democratic Germany.

Of course, one can list hundreds of dark blots on the European picture. Nazism and reaction and their barbaric ideas, superstition and backwardness, have not yet been eradicated. (And are the United States and the Americas free of them?) The forces of reaction—unfortunately with all too much direct and indirect help and encouragement from the reactionary forces of the Americas—have not given up their attemps to counter-attack, to sabotage, to continue hunger and sickness.

But if one does not forget that countries of Europe have been liberated from fascism only a short time; if one takes into consideration the complicated and difficult conditions, the terrible and sordid heritage European peoples have to overcome, *their vitality, inspired by progressive ideas, is gigantic.* Never were these people less willing to give up, to appoint their heirs. Never in the history of Europe have its people been more conscious of their progressive traditions, of their civilization, of their national values, of their tremendous potentialities. Never in the history of Europe have its people been more eager to learn from their experience, and to learn from the most progressive experience of other countries. The New York *Times* will never understand that.

THIS Europe is not down and out. It has not died from old age. It is becoming a new, a very new, continent. And because the awakening masses want to avoid a repetition of their terrible past, we can understand their intransigence against the traitors, against people and institutions that would bring back that past. For this reason too the great masses of Europe cannot be bribed into hostility towards the Soviet Union whose armies saved them and whose example inspires them in their march forward. It is for this reason that the great mass of Europeans are rightfuly disgusted when they see interventions in Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, in favor of the reactionary forces. And it is for this reason that millions in Europe

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look with bitterness upon those American forces that try to exploit their misery in order to squeeze them economically and politically.

What a tragic error it would be if the Americas should consider themselves the heirs of someone who is not only not dead but will in the years to come give even greater proofs of a remarkable and historic renaissance. What a tragic error it would be to treat as beggars those who will overcome all their difficulties, all their terrible pains of rebirth *with or without the help of the Americas*. What an abominable performance it is to misinform the American people by telling them Europe is dead just because what kept Europe back and what brought it under the yoke of fascism is dying or dead.

The Sinclair oil interests may be able to buy the whole backward Ethiopia and establish a monopoly there under a humanitarian mask. It is not possible, however, to buy the European countries that withstood Hitler. One can buy and bribe in France, in Yugoslavia, in the different Balkan countries, those who have sold themselves to Hitler before and are ready to sell themselves again. But one must remember that in the *new* Europe these people have lost or are losing their power, that they are unmasked and despised by their people. If Mr. Byrnes or Mr. Bevin cannot sleep, because there is not enough democracy in Rumania—everybody in Europe is awake to the smell of oil. If the New York *Times* finds a thousand and one arguments against unemployment relief of twenty-five dollars a week for American unemployed workers and campaigns for democracy in Bulgaria—who then outside the United States is fooled by the cynicism of the "*Front Populaire*" of Wall Street?

For the German fascists, for the Polish, Hungarian, Rumanian feudal land owners, for the Vichyites and the quislings, for the Italian fascist gangsters and their hangers-on, for all those rotten European forces—*for them Europe is dying*. And as it very often happens in history, the most vicious reaction has accelerated the tempo of historic progress by trying to hold it back with incredible crimes and barbarism. As long as only the New York *Times* displays a passion for misjudging the present Europe, it does not matter too much. But dangerous consequences will result if the United States displays a similar passion and intervenes to prevent the transformation of the old Europe into a very new and very young Continent.

DA VINCI AND THE VATICAN

By WALDO SALT

In asking the world to destroy the secret of atomic energy, the Vatican saw fit to quote Leonardo da Vinci on his invention of the submarine. "This I do not publish or divulge," Leonardo said, "on account of the evil nature of man, who would practise assassination at the bottom of the seas by breaking the ships in their lowest parts and sinking them together with the crews who are in them." When the devil quotes scripture, that's not news. But when the Vatican quotes Leonardo, that's news worthy of certain editorial comment. Only a few months ago, the Pope appealed to a group of American writers in the interests of writing Truth. In the interests of Truth, a few words must be added to this quotation of Leonardo—and in particular, a few of Leonardo's own words.

That distinguished artist and scientist would have been the most amazed to find himself quoted by the Church of Rome. According to Edward McCurdy, who assembled the Da Vinci *Notebooks*, "At a time when the Church 'taught the sacredness of the human corpse, and was ready to punish as sacrilege the use of the anatomic scalpel,' Leonardo practiced dissection; and he suffered in consequence of his temerity, since it was subsequent to the malicious laying of information concerning these experiments that the withdrawal of papal favor brought about his departure from Rome in 1515."

The first edition of Vasari's *Lives*, published shortly after Leonardo's death, refers to him as an atheist—although this memorandum was left out of later editions. And while Leonardo's own writings do not prove his atheism, neither do they prove any great love for the church of his day. The *Prophecies*, a unique form of social satire which Leonardo developed, speak with some contempt for the practices of the clergy:

ON THE CHURCHES AND HABITATIONS OF FRIARS: There will be many who will abandon work and labor and poverty of life and possessions, and will go to dwell among riches and in splendid buildings, pretending that this is a means of becoming acceptable to God.

OF THE SELLING OF PARADISE: A countless multitude will sell publicly and without hindrance things of the very greatest value, without license from the Lord of these things which were never theirs nor in their power; and human justice will take no account of this.

In the course of his research, Leonardo took the trouble to disprove a then-current myth that the fossil fish found in the mountains of Italy were proof of the Flood. Admitting that water had undoubtedly covered the earth at one time, he showed that this could not possibly be attributed to the Biblical Flood, because the cockles found in fossil deposits could not have traveled the 250 miles from the Adriatic to Montferrato in Lombardy in the mere forty days and forty nights allotted.

Leonardo would seem to have been more of an agnostic than an atheist. He could never prove, to his own precisely scientific mind, the existence or the nonexistence of a "spirit" inside or outside the material body. Through those dissections which brought papal disfavor he was able to foreshadow Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood and contribute to modern surgery by his sketches; he began to fathom the complex inter-relationship between the human body and that of the frog, the bird, the fish and other animals. But he could never locate the anatomical seat of the so-called "spirit." He looked for it in the brain, in the heart, in the lungs, at the base of the spine; at one point in his *Notebooks*, he wrote himself the frustrating memorandum to discover "whether the spirit can speak or no?" And in the end, he had to sum up his investigations without a conclusion:

"We have proved how the spirit can-

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Big Steal.

not of itself exist among the elements without a body, nor yet move of itself by voluntary movement." That was the extent of his progress toward materialism, yet it is understandable that the hierarchs of his day frowned upon such experiments. And it is less understandable that the hierarchs of today should appeal to his authority.

It is even less understandable, in the interests of truth, that the Vatican should propose him as an advocate of destroying the weapons of warfare. Leonardo held the office of "military engineer" under Caesar Borgia, and offered to perform the same services for Ludovic Sforza. And among his most brilliant contributions were those in the field of scientific warfare: tanks and cannon; flame-throwers and poison gas; even an analysis of guerrilla tactics. A notation beside one of his sketches of a tank reads:

"These take the place of the elephants. One may tilt with them. One may hold bellows in them to spread terror among the horses of the enemy, and one may put carabiniers in them to break up every company."

CERTAINLY, Leonardo was a man of contradictions. He lived and worked in a period of intense contradictions. The European world was slowly emerging from the church-censored Dark Ages. Gutenberg's press was introducing the printed page to replace the jealously guarded, hand-written knowledge of the clergy—passed on from priest to priest with all the sanctity of modern property inheritance. It was inevitable that Leonardo's hand-written manuscripts, scrawled from right to left with characteristic individualism, should have reflected these upheavals. His statement on the submarine fits with his description of war in general as "*bestialissima pazzia*"—"most bestial madness"—and his conviction that "it is an infinitely atrocious thing to take away the life of a man."

Leonardo found a partial resolution of his personal conflict in the passionate respect for the freedom of the individual which characterized the Renaissance. "When besieged by ambitious tyrants," he wrote in his *Notebooks*, "I find a means of offense and defense in order to preserve the chief gift of Nature, which is liberty." And at another point he notes that "the bullfinch will carry spurge (a poison) to its little ones imprisoned in a cage—death rather than loss of liberty."

Several times in his *Notebooks*, Leonardo wrote that "the natural desire of good men is knowledge"; that "the acquisition of knowledge is always useful to the intellect, because it will be able to banish the useless things and retain those which are good." And yet he died without revealing his method of remaining under water "on account of the evil nature of man." He worshipped the newly arising freedom of the individual from the serfdom of the Dark Ages, but he was bitterly disillusioned when these new individuals appeared "ambitious" of controlling the emerging world commerce. So the principle of the submarine must be withheld, lest it fall into the hands of individuals who "would practice assassination at the bottom of the seas."

Robert Fulton, at the beginning of the modern industrial era three centuries later, made the same mistake in reverse. His submarine would bring an end to all wars, he believed, in the hands of one powerful nation of good-will. Historically, it was not possible for Fulton or Leonardo to understand that society proceeds out of the contradictions between classes, and not out of the good or evil nature of individual men or nations. It was possible for Leonardo to plan a city for man's better living—"let the street be as wide as the universal height of the houses"—but his plans still included separate streets for the upper and lower classes. It was left for Karl Marx to show that the solution to the contradictions in individual possession of man's tools must be found in social ownership and the abolition of classes—not in the destruction of the tools, or their control by well-meaning individuals.

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SPEAKING OF SOCIALISM

By A. B. MAGIL

IN A RECENT column Walter Lippmann makes out a strong case for socialism. This will surprise many readers, as it will no doubt surprise Mr. Lippmann, who has long since repented of the youthful fling he had at being a Socialist. In his column Mr. Lippmann argues against including the right to work in the Murray full employment bill on which the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has been holding hearings. His objection, it seems, is on strictly legal grounds. For "under a real bill of rights a citizen who is denied his rights may carry his case to the courts." But can a man who is out of a job go to court and force the government to provide him with work? Since he cannot do this under the Murray bill or any other law, Mr. Lippmann urges that the provision in the bill which states that "all Americans able to work and seeking work have the right to useful, remunerative, regular and full-time employment" be stricken out.

This argument has a sheen of plausibility. But what is its substance? First, by Mr. Lippmann's own test one would have to conclude that the Bill of Rights in our Constitution fails to meet it. More than one picket-line has been broken up, more than one attempt by dissident groups to exercise the right of free speech has been suppressed without the injured parties being able to secure legal redress. And in seven southern states millions of Negroes and whites have for years been denied the right to vote, while the United States Congress has tolerated the presence of members elected on that illegal basis, and no court has thus far even whispered: "You can't do that."

Moreover, under capitalism, all juridical rights are in practice limited by economic factors. It takes money to carry one's case to the courts, just as it takes money to exercise one's constitutional right of freedom of the press by publishing a newspaper. And most Americans have very little money.

At best therefore Mr. Lippmann's legalistic argument is only a half-truth. But in making this argument he is unwittingly calling attention to the fact that the *guarantees* of the right to work —guarantees that are not merely legal —need to be created. No such guarantees are contained in the full employment bill, or in the other proposed legislation which the labor movement and progressives are supporting, though, taken together, they constitute steps toward fashioning such guarantees. However, since Mr. Lippmann wants to eliminate even a verbal acknowledgment of the right to work (the majority of the Senate committee have taken his advice) and to replace it with an amendment of Senator Taft's, which states in effect that it will be the government's policy to do the best it can, it is evident he has little faith that the so-called "free enterprise" system can establish real guarantees of the right to work.

Personally, I share his doubt and that is one of the reasons my own faith is in socialism. For socialism has demonstrated that it does not need war to provide full employment. And men and women will not forever be content to have that demonstration confined to a country other than their own and to human beings other than themselves.

IN RECENT years American Marxists fell into the habit of regarding socialism as a kind of poor relation which some day would be taken into the family bosom but meanwhile had to be kept discreetly out of sight. We rationalized our attitude by telling ourselves and others that socialism is not the immediate issue and that the American people aren't ready for it, both of which were obviously true. But it is one thing to take these factors into consideration in molding policy; it is another thing to make them the fulcrum of all thought and action. Moreover, we sought to counter Red-baiting by assuming a false and stultifying modesty, constantly reiterating how small and weak a group we were. This too was obvious, but what we forgot was that even if the American Communists had one-hundredth their actual strength, they would still be the seed of an invincible power—socialism, which springs from the soil of every land and whose ultimate domain is the world.

There are friends of mine who in revulsion at the recent blindness and complacence of so many of us would place socialism on flaming banners and assault head-on the citadels of capitalist power. They are impatient of the tedious inch-by-inch fight for higher wages and more adequate social insurance and government public works. But the American labor movement has not gone through two frightful wars and economic catastrophe and massive strikes and political battles in order to bury all it has learned in a blaze of adolescent pyrotechnics. There is a minor sect in this country called the Socialist Labor Party which used to—perhaps still does —have only a single plank in its platform: the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class. I think it would be better to leave to this sterile little group the monopoly of political sectarianism.

YET, while we must seek a language of common action with the great majority of Americans, I feel we must at the same time learn how to find the larger meaning in the day-to-day issues and how to project out of them the socialist goal toward which we want to move. As yet we have hardly begun to do this. In the left-wing press, including NEW MASSES, there is still very little beyond what is immediate and obvious in contemporary events. What I have in mind isn't easy to do, especially after years of sailing in shallow waters, and I for one have no simple formula. But that it must be done if we are to be something more than progressives, if we are to rise to the level of Marxism, of this I am convinced.

And this brings me back to the question of the right to work. Nearly a hundred years ago Karl Marx wrote: "The right to work is, in the bourgeois sense, an absurdity, a miserable, pious wish." He was commenting on the fact that the first draft of the constitution adopted after the French revolution of February 1848 embodied the right to work as a concession to the working class, which had been the driving force in the struggle against the monarchy and the financial aristocracy. However, after the June insurrection of the working class against the intolerable conditions of bourgeois rule, the right to work was deleted and replaced by the right to assistance, to relief. And, observed Marx, "what modern state does not feed its paupers in some form or other?"

It remained for the Soviet constitution to proclaim the right to work as the very first of the rights of Soviet citizens because this was no longer a pious wish, but was guaranteed by the conditions of socialist society. "The right to

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THE PSYCHOANALYTIC TRADITION

By JOSEPH WORTIS

AT THE turn of the century when psychoanalysis emerged as a distinctive scientific movement it represented, on the whole, an important advance.* Its positive contributions in that period—nearly half a century ago—were the following:

1. Psychoanalysis emphasized the individual and his personal history at a time when psychiatry was much too interested in merely labelling and classifying psychological disorders.

2. It introduced a dynamic point of view—that is, a picture of personality as a moving development, instead of the prevailing tendency to regard personality as something fixed and static.

3. It presented a dialectical picture of personality, as composed of many opposing tendencies—not a unified undifferentiated mass of single tendencies.

4. It helped develop the new science of mental function—psychology—at a time when psychiatry was dominated by the mechanical materialism of the pathological anatomists, or the experimental laboratory interests of the early psychologists.

5. It strengthened scientific materialism at a time when religious idealism was influencing certain schools of psychiatry.

6. It was responsible for an emphasis on therapeutic optimism instead of the fatalism or nihilism then prevailing.

7. It helped shatter the taboos against an examination of sexuality and the family.

8. It made a penetrating and subtle analysis of many psychological mechanisms that had been previously neglected or unknown; repression, projection, sublimation, regression, transference, reaction formation, etc.

9. It presented a realistic picture of many sordid aspects of the contemporary personality and family.

10. It accumulated a vast wealth of observational data on human personality.

Freudianism however did not escape the influence of its social and historical origins and had certain basic defects from the very beginning, which at first impeded its development and later led the psychoanalytic movement into theoretical formulations and attitudes which cannot be regarded as valid or useful.

The development of Freudian psychology has however coincided with the emergence of an important psychoanalytic movement, with institutes for training an accredited membership, with publishing facilities and periodicals, and with a large lay following. There can be little doubt that Freudianism has a very widespread influence today. Certain Freudian attitudes are common even in circles that regard themselves as anti-Freudian, as well as in circles that have never heard of Freud. This is partly due to the fact that Freudianism embodies many attitudes that can claim an existence quite independent of Freudianism, and partly to that fact that Freudian influences have spread in many subtle ways far beyond the circle of its formal adherents. Freudians occupy many important official positions, and in addition many influential people have themselves undergone psychoanalysis. Large sections of the social work field have been deeply influenced by psychoanalytic theories, and our child guidance centers, juvenile courts, and criminal courts are also exposed to Freudian influence. In recent years psychoanalysts have been given prominent posts in military circles and have been assigned key positions in rehabilitation centers and as consultants in the US Employment Service. Novelists, critics, sociologists and philosophers frequently give expression to the psychoanalytic point of view. Up to recent years the international psychoanalytic movement, in spite of several important schisms, represented a relatively compact and energetic group with centers throughout the world. The more serious dissensions and divisions which have lately disturbed the movement are symptomatic of a rising discontent with certain basic Freudian principles, but it cannot be said that any satisfactory alternative body of scientific opinion has yet been developed to replace it.

WHAT are the basic ideas of Freudianism? In what way are they true or false, and what are the practical effects of these ideas? The basic ideas of Freudianism are the following:

1. *A belief in the preponderant influence of the unconscious.* Freud believed that the behavior of people, in general, is not motivated by a correct and realistic appraisal of an actual situation, but essentially by innate instinctive drives, modified by early experience (in the first years of life) and only slightly influenced by later experiences. So far as any particular situation is concerned the behavior of people must be regarded as irrelevant and irrational. According to one prominent psychoanalyst, Erich Fromm, for example, the German people when threatened with fascism identified their fascist leaders with their fathers and yielded to them: "... Many of the adherents of the leftist parties, although they believed in their party programs as long as the parties had authority, were ready to resign when the hour of crisis arrived. A close analysis of the character structure of German workers can show one reason—certainly not the only one—for this phenomenon. A great number of them were of a personality type that has many of the traits of what we have described as the authoritarian character. They had a deepseated respect and longing for established authority." (*Escape from Freedom*, pp. 80-81.)

For adults the Freudians believe in the ascendency of outworn unconscious ideas over actual situations. For children they believe in the ascendency of instinctive drives over actual situations. In both cases the Freudians assume an ascendency of ideas over the realities of a situation. Many people nowadays have come to see that it is not primarily the ideas of men that determine their way of life but, on the contrary, the mode of their existence that determines their ideas. Freudianism believes in exactly the opposite relationship. In a typical passage Freud declares: "It is quite impossible to understand how psychological factors can be overlooked where the reactions of living human beings are involved; for not only were such factors already concerned in the establishment of these economic conditions, but, even in obeying these conditions, men can do no more than set their original instinctual impulses in motion—their self-preservative instinct, their love of aggression, their need for

*The author assumes full responsibility for the views here expressed, but these views are in many respects a joint product of group discussion. Thanks are due to a number of colleagues, whose discussions and suggestions are incorporated in this paper.

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"Monopoly," lithograph by Grunbaum.

love, and their impulse to attain pleasure and avoid pain. . . . For sociology, which deals with the behavior of man in society, can be nothing other than applied psychology." (*New Introductory Lectures,* p. 244.)

Thus Freud not only neglected the social situation as a motive for behavior, but stood everything on its head by regarding social situations as the expression of people's ideas or unconscious strivings. From this point of view war, for example, is the expression of aggressive instincts, and social feeling the expression of latent sexual feeling.

2. As a result of Freud's conviction that outworn, unconscious ideas dominate action, *his scientific method for understanding human behavior is essentially antiquarian and biological.* That is, he is much preoccupied with unravelling an individual's past, and in evaluating the strength and interplay of his instinctive biological drives. This antiquarian and biological interest is fostered—as we have just seen—at the expense of sociological interest. In actual treatment of an individual case this means intensive biographical investigation and personality probing and dissection with only cursory attention to the problems of conduct and practical life. As a result of this concern with the past and with the world of ideas, psychoanalysis has become too descriptive and abstract: a great deal of space and attention is devoted in its literature to descriptions—often very acute and subtle—of the devious complex ways in which ideas become interrelated or changed by their impact on each other. Much of the fascination of psychoanalysis lies in this skillful pursuit and capture of changing or developing ideas, a pursuit which too often loses its relation to the hard facts of life, and affords a kind of relief to the patient which is not basic and therefore not sustained.

3. Freudianism, which arose as a progressive influence at a time when psychiatry was dominated by the mechanical material interests of the pathological anatomists, *has almost completely lost interest in the material physiological basis of mental function, and has gone over to the other great extreme* of depicting all nervous disorders as psychological problems, and even in regarding many organic diseases as mainly psychological disorders. The current interest in "psychosomatic" medicine is dominated by this Freudian point of view. It is true that the psychological level of integration has its own independent laws, and justifies a separate scientific discipline, but the psychological level stands in constant and intimate interrelationship to both physiology and sociology, with influences moving back and forth between all levels.

4. Freudianism has a social orientation that is much too narrow. Though it sometimes disclaims any interest in morals or ethics, it has an implicit acceptance of most contemporary middle-class standards. This is revealed in its attitude toward women, in its notion of

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what is normal, in its standards of success and failure, in its attitude toward social progress, and in its fundamental pessimism.

In relation to the social advance toward a better life it can therefore be said that the psychoanalytic tradition is characterized by certain evasive or reactionary tendencies. It is fascinated by the past at the expense of the present, and imputes excessive—at times almost magical—powers to the force of analytic insight, at the expense of action.* Although the whole range of schools of psychoanalysis recognize to some degree the interdependence of social relationships and ideas, the psychoanalytic tradition always greatly overvalues the primary influence of ideas. To make matters worse it endows ideas with an abstract independent existence, as "instincts," or makes them relatively independent by relating them to experiences long past, or derivative from an abstract cultural tradition. It minimizes the basic fact that ideas are derivative from social relationships, and are continually modified by changing relationships.

As a consequence, psychoanalysis is very attractive to many troubled people who are unable, unwilling, or otherwise unprepared to undertake the action necessary for their social adjustment. It is no accident that psychoanalysis makes a particular point of being independent of ethical considerations and that psychoanalysts are often scornful of the kind of psychiatry that gives advice.

Even the advanced psychoanalysts leave big loopholes for the orthodox point of view. A crucial point concerns the changeability of human nature. The instinct theory makes human nature relatively fixed. But so does an undue emphasis on childhood experience. This aspect of psychoanalytic theory can be regarded as a scientific expression of the popular notion that the tree's inclined the way the twig is bent (which, by the way, does not accord with the botanical facts). "There is no doubt whatever," writes Horney (*New Ways in Psychoanalysis*, p. 152), "that childhood experiences exert a decisive influence on development . . . with some persons this development essentially stops at the age of five, with some it stops in adolescence, with others at around thirty, with a few it goes on until old age." Robbins, for example, attacks Alexander for his insistence on the biological origin of certain human attitudes, but in the course of his attack shares the assumption that neuroses are based upon childhood experiences. "The question is clear," he wrote, "what are the conditions in infancy and childhood out of which neuroses evolve?" (*Science and Society*, 6: 376, 1943.) Other analysts discard the instinct theory, but regard the need for sexual gratification as a "basic biological drive," like hunger and thirst, and proceed to exaggerate its social function. This reminds one of the man who was a staunch vegetarian, except for veal cutlets, which he liked.

As scientists and physicians it would be absurd for us to take the view that we are opposed to the analysis of neurotic symptoms. In the plain English meaning of the term analysis we certainly recognize the frequent necessity for the careful, detailed and painstaking unravelling of mental symptoms or personal problems. We must also recognize that free association, dream analysis, the understanding of symbols and of mental mechanisms are all invaluable aids to such analysis. But we do not regard the analysis as an end in itself. The end point of every analysis of a neurotic symptom should be an understanding of the social relationships that both initiated and maintained the symptoms or disorder, or an understanding of the physiological derangement involved. In either case the analysis must lead to a line of action that would serve to adjust the social relationships or relieve the physiological derangement. The analysis in other words is a preliminary to treatment and is not in itself a treament, just as historical analysis is a guide to social action but no substitute for it.

* The following quotation from the writings of Karen Horney is illustrative:

"Sometimes the mere uncovering of a neurotic trend is sufficient to cure a neurotic upset. A capable executive, for instance, was

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LISTEN TO THE RUMBLE

Pittsburgh.

"Why do you have to let them in?" the little girl squealed in an excited voice.

"Nothing we can do about it—equal rights law," the ticket man told her.

I handed the man my ticket, but before I had reached the door of the dressing room, another little girl ran up to me and said, "Say, lady, you don't want to go in the pool today. They're letting colored people in."

"I don't mind," I told her quietly. "They're exactly the same as you and I. Their skin is just a little darker. That's the only difference." The child was too surprised to answer. She just stared after me.

The dressing room was filled with a sense of excitement. The basket woman shoved an empty basket out the window for me. She was in a hurry to rush to the other end of the room so that she could see out to the pool. Slowly I walked back to the benches to change into my bathing suit. I remembered the bloody race riots here at Highland Park a number of years ago when Negro people had attempted to go into the pool. The pool belongs to the city and when I was in High School I used to spend practically all my summer afternoons here. I remember as I undressed that my mother always used to warn me, "Remember, if there are any signs of a riot, get dressed and come right home." In those days I surely would have turned around and left. Now I undressed quickly.

As I stepped into the bright sunlight I was struck by the sight of at least twenty-five uniformed cops standing and walking around the pools. Casually, I walked over to one of them and asked, "How come all the police today?"

"Just getting a little fresh air and sunshine," he answered.

I sat down at the shallow end and watched the kids splashing around. There were three or four Negro kids playing. I wanted to go in and dance around with them. We were so happy, the kids and I. They because the water was cool and fresh and the sun so warm on their bodies. And I with a feeling of pride and victory. Let the cops mill around. Let the ignorant ones get dressed and go home. The Negro kids were here for the first time. And for the present that was the big thing that counted most.

A loud conversation was going on behind me. "I'm getting out of here," one girl was saying. "I'll be

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damned if I'm going in the same pool with ———s."

I held my tongue. Let her go, I thought, there are still hundreds of people staying.

"Let five of them in today and the place will be packed with them tomorrow."

"Ought to kick every damned one out."

Casually I walked over, listened for a few minutes, then remarked, "I thought one of the things we fought for in this war was equality for all people. Many of these people gave their lives in the war—" Before I could finsh the sentence a woman standing on the outside of the fence called in, "Did they give their lives in the war?"

"Ever hear of Dorie Miller," I shot back. Either she hadn't or didn't want to remember about Dorie Miller.

"If you like them, why don't you get in the pool with them?"

Forcing myself to speak quietly I answered that I intended to go into the pool—when I was ready to do so.

There wasn't a friendly person in the crowd. So, tossing my bathing cap in the air—like a man who whistles in the dark—I walked away with an air of nonchalance. As I reached the deep end of the pool, I looked back toward the dressing room and noticed a crowd of about fifty people, with five or six Negro people being pushed along in front. I walked over to the nearest cop and said, "Aren't you fellows supposed to be here today to see that nothing goes wrong?"

"That's right, lady," he answered. "I don't see nothing wrong."

"What do you call that?" and I pointed.

"Perfectly peaceful as far as I can see," and he turned his head away with an air of finality.

But I stepped in front of him. "Yes, those people are 'peacefully' putting the Negro people out of the pool."

"Listen here, lady, my place is at this end of the pool. If there's any trouble down there, I ain't got nothing to do with it. There's cops down there at that end of the pool. What goes on down there ain't none of my business."

"Yes, there are cops down there. At least half a dozen of them and not one budging to do a thing about it."

My impulse was to rush to the head of the crowd and join the Negro people. But I knew how close the place was to a riot. Besides, they would be in the dressing rooms before I could reach them.

I knew it was a waste of breath but I turned back to the cop and remarked, "I happen to be white but I'm deeply ashamed of the white people here today."

"Nuts," I heard him remark as I walked away.

SURELY there must be some little thing that one could do —something to prove to these Negro people that they were not alone. Just then I noticed two beautiful young Negro girls about sixteen or seventeen walking along. They were obviously confused and were heading for the dressing room. I touched one of them on the shoulder. She shot back a cold look, not knowing what to expect. "I want to talk to you a minute," I said. "I just want you to know that not all white people are like those you see here today. We just finished fighting a war against race prejudice." I was too choked with emotion to go on. Tears were beginning to fill my eyes.

Several people had stopped. There were about five or six young Negro girls and a number of white people standing around. "We know," the girl said, her eyes softening. "It's just that the ignorant ones and the prejudiced ones are the loudest." I didn't answer. I had stopped them because I wanted to give them spirit and courage. And here I was, ready to burst into tears. I looked around and felt ashamed. There was not a single tear in the eyes of any of those girls. In that split second I thought to myself, "They've learned that tears only get in your way. There is no time for tears. Maybe the girl is right. Maybe the ignorant ones are in the minority. There are still hundreds of people in the pool. While they are not defending the Negro people, neither are they openly hostile. These people can become our friends."

"But we thank you for what you've said," the girl continued.

"Don't thank me." I was able to talk now. "We've learned a lot of things in this war. But we still have a lot more to learn. I hope it won't take long."

"Quit your agitating. Wanta cause a riot?" It was one of the cops. The girls walked away toward the dressing room.

"Get her a soap box," someone yelled.

"If you love them so much, why don't you go out with them?"

"Come on. Break it up. Break it up." The cop was waking up. He suddenly seemed to realize that he had a duty to perform.

I stepped back toward the wall and the people began to drift away. Suddenly I noticed fifteen or twenty kids, none more than twelve years old, crowd around a small Negro child, not more than six, and start chasing her out of the pool. The kid was bewildered, confused. She looked around, searching for the person she had come with. She was so little, she could hardly manage to get out of the pool. I wanted to rush over to her, to pick her up in my arms, to comfort her, to shield her from this terrible hurt that she was too small to understand.

DOROTHY SLOME.

NEW MASSES *invites its readers to contribute to its "Listen to the Rumble" with accounts of what they see and hear on the many significant problems facing the nation today.*

Ella.

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SALT AND PEPPER . . . By JOEL BRADFORD

THE WORLD IS A GLOBE

Now that news of battle has vanished and the works of peace, such as murders, thefts, divorces, and elopements, have resumed their wonted reign upon the front page, one is tempted to sit once more by the fire and revel in the old parochial environment. The old parish was pretty large. At one's fireside one knew what happened in New York and San Francisco. One knew of the existence of two oceans and of lands beyond: of England, Mother of Parliaments and of the Labor Party; of Czechoslovakia, "that far-away country," as Neville Chamberlain once called it; and of The Enigma which sprawled from the Baltic to the Pacific. It was an easy-uneasy parish, to which one might willingly return, with the added satisfaction that The Enigma, one-sixth of the world's surface, is now considerably less mysterious than an ounce of uranium.

There is, moreover, a lot to be done at home. War gave us a kind of abundance in the midst of death; peace gives us a kind of death in the midst of abundance. We have learned that destruction provides full employment; shall we tolerate the reverse, that construction provides famine? Obviously we cannot tolerate it, though that is the condition toward which everything will tend, unless there is resolute struggle against it. The United Automobile Workers, with excellent militancy, offers leadership in the decisive theater, and the Full Employment Bill is a proper companion-in-arms.

The opposition has not been slow to manifest itself. The auto tycoons, who seem imperfectly acquainted with the Teheran line, reject the thirty percent wage increase. They are plainly resolved that, so far as they can manage it, there shall not be enough purchasing power to buy their own automobiles or any sufficient part of the whole stupendous output of modern industry. That is to say, they have set out upon the shortest possible path to the next depression.

And why should they not? Depressions have their advantages for tycoons. Under such circumstances, union treasuries decline; the organizations and their members are poorer in money, in health, and in hope. All the divisive forces work with greater potency: racists thrive and alien-baiters batten upon the general misery. Out of that gloom can ride the man on horseback who is to "save" us from ourselves. The struggle against the next depression is, therefore, a struggle *for* the unity of all workers, for an alliance of the workers with the farmers and small businessmen, for the rights of all minorities, for a solid front against monopoly capital. There is no doubt that, if such a struggle were at all successful, capitalism would be seriously weakened, and America would be recognizably nearer its socialist goal.

But whatever Ford and General Motors may do, there is a section of capital which has a much subtler approach. In all the present maneuverings one discerns a scheme by which liberality at home is to be recompensed by extreme exploitation abroad. Surely this is the secret of Labor government policy in England. It is Churchillian abroad and "all-but-socialist" at home. While it "gradually" approaches socialism in England with exquisite tentativeness, it continues the old modest flirtation with Admiral Voulgaris and King Michael. The flirtation with King Peter remains, I take it, clandestine. We do know, however, that the Bulgarian government is insufficiently democratic for Mr. Bevin's taste, and that the Yugoslav claim to Trieste is "imperialism." Not for nothing was it once observed by a witty Frenchman, "In England everything moves to the left except the Labor Party."

Well, England's secret is our secret too. What else explains the joining of a liberal domestic policy with a foreign policy which steadily intrigues against the Polish, Austrian, Yugoslav, and Bulgarian governments? Is there no connection between De Gaulle's visit to America and his proposal of a Western European bloc? Surely it cannot be supposed that men who sponsored the admission of Argentina into the United Nations have any real concern for democracy in the Balkans or anywhere else. But, under such conditions, the liberal domestic policy acts as a kind of bait which is to lure the nation toward the reactionary foreign policy. The benefits bestowed at home are to be sweated from labor abroad. The German people were in a somewhat similar situation when they made their fatal choice: they could share the spoils which their imperialists proposed to reap elsewhere, or they could master their imperialists and make themselves true citizens of the world. It is of all choices perhaps the most difficult to make correctly, for it requires much imagination to perceive that the world is a globe, that we all live in it, and that no man ever freed himself by adding slaves to his master.

A valid program for the present time must unite the campaign for full employment with a campaign for world democracy. This latter phrase may seem a catch-all, but it denotes some startling things. It denotes Poland, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, where the transfer of land to the peasants has been accomplished, where feudalism is thus at last obliterated, where governments intend to develop the national resources without intrusion of private monopolies. It means France, where the leftward tide is soon to overwhelm De Gaulle; England, whose people never intended the foreign policy they have been given; and the two colossi of the East, China and India, which are nearer to nationhood than ever before. We must explain to Americans what is really going on in these regions, the tremendous events which the press vulgarizes as "Soviet influence." I shall miss my guess if Americans do not respond heartily and effectively to the sight of other peoples winning some victories which we won long ago and some victories which we have yet to win.

This is the way to recoup the losses I referred to, not long ago. This is the way to demonstrate that one is not parroting a line, but pointing to certain empirical facts and to the conclusions which those facts yield. It is not accidental that, while American Communists never got to first base with the Teheran line, they previously did a splendid job of unmasking Mikhailovich—and this was, moreover, a job which only they undertook.

It is the fate, and doubtless the glory, of Communists to get just as much prestige as they earn. I do not know, for

(*Continued on page* 30)

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THE MACARTHUR BETRAYAL

By THE EDITORS

THE American government's current political role in the Far East is a barefaced sell-out of the interests of the American people which can be ranked only with such notorious events as those attending the so-called non-intervention policy toward the Spanish War, the arming of Japan during the 1930's and Munich. What is being done in the Far East today—in China, in Japan, in the southern half of Korea, in the colonial world—cannot be dismissed as a series of errors or even as confusion accompanying the difficult process of occupation and surrender. It is policy, deliberate policy, and it is being carried out consistently in all Far Eastern sectors reached by the American government.

Sharp criticism has been voiced of General MacArthur. The general's arrogance, dictatorial manner, his pomposity and personal conceit are widely resented. Acting Secretary of State Acheson's public reprimand of some of the methods employed by MacArthur was belated though welcome. Some of the more able State Department Far Eastern experts are on their way to Tokyo, apparently to put into effect the Department's and White House's "views" on the treatment of Japan.

Nevertheless, there is little reason to suppose that these recently stated views differ in terms of essential policy from those of the strutting general. That they differ as to method there can be little doubt. For one thing, the State Department always fights back when any other government branch encroaches upon its jurisdiction. This MacArthur has done. As a result, even the cookie-pushers have been spilling their tea. For another thing, the Department likes to do things, whether good or bad, more delicately, with more finesse. If you're going to back Japanese reaction, you don't, according to the Department's etiquette, come out openly and say so. You back it under the slogan of "promoting democracy."

This, we fear, is just what the Department is up to. MacArthur is going to be rebuffed—for method, not for policy. The rough edges will be rubbed off. A bold attempt will be made to make the public believe that changes in method mean changes in policy. A policy which is now causing international nausea will henceforth be served on a dainty silver platter.

If it were to be otherwise, we should long since have seen policies instituted which were designed genuinely to implement the Potsdam Declaration. One such step would be the formulation of a coalition policy toward Japan, a policy jointly arrived at by the nations, including the Soviet Union, Australia and New Zealand, which had defeated Japan. If steps were being taken to arrive at such a policy and to work out the details for carrying it out, and if administrative arrangements were then agreed upon and put into practice for ruling Japan in accordance with those decisions, we would be less skeptical of the State Department's role.

The main proof of the Department's unwillingness to institute a truly democratic policy toward Japan lies in China. For there the Department through Ambassador Hurley is known to dominate the policies of the US Army. Yet in China the United States only supports reaction by armed intervention. Our representatives in China boast of transporting 80,000 troops of the Kuomintang dictatorship into the major cities, thereby making it difficult and often impossible for China's democratic forces to accept the Japanese surrender. To give the State Department credit for consistency, even though it is on the side of reaction, we must admit that this policy toward China is of a piece with that toward Japan. In both cases the American government is backing reaction.

These policies must be defeated. There is an excellent chance that they can be defeated in China, and speedily, because of the tremendous democratic movement already existing in that country. The role of American anti-fascists and anti-imperialists is supplementary to what the Chinese people can do for themselves. Yet it is vital and must be given vigorous expression. China is the main key to the Far Eastern situation.

Because of the relative weakness of democratic forces in Japan the problem is more difficult. The coalition of American and Japanese reaction should nevertheless be fought at every step, for in no other way is there any prospect for the rise of a substantial Japanese democratic movement. One of the most effective demands that can now be put forward is for the adoption of a United Nations policy to supplant American unilateral control.

New Words, Old Music

THE British Labor Government has now declared India practically independent, but the Indians, skeptical people that they are, refuse to believe it.

Prime Minister Attlee says that following provincial elections this winter, steps will be taken to set up a constituent assembly with the responsibility of framing a new constitution. But the Indians say, in effect, that this is unmitigated hogwash because the group that is to frame the constitution is as democratic or as representative as Chiang Kai-shek's hand-picked delegates to his proposed constituent assembly.

The delegates to the Indian constituent assembly would not be chosen in a free election. They would be nominated by the irresponsible governments of the princedoms. Furthermore, the resurrection of the already rejected Cripps offer is proof once more that London has no intention of bringing together all Indian groups to prepare the constitution. Instead, Mr. Attlee is merely doing again what Mr. Churchill attempted—to keep the Indian parties divided while the British government retains the whip hand.

Actually if the Attlee offer were to be accepted, the gulf between the Congress party and the Moslem League would be widened with the net result that there would be neither a united, independent India, which the Congress desires, nor a free Moslem state, for which the League is working. More and more we wonder whether Mr. Churchill really lost the British elections.

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ISSUES IN LONDON

FROM the whole complex of issues that have faced the meeting of foreign ministers in London, one central point emerges clearly. There are profound differences among the Big Three as to what will make a stable and peaceful Europe. It is no longer enough to say that unity alone will surmount the difficulties. To be sure, without unity—a working unity—based on common needs, the problems of the peace settlement cannot even be touched. That unity exists in rudimentary form and must now be lifted to new and more mature levels. In other words, what is being discussed back and forth at London is the content of unity, the principles that shall prevail in the resolution of issues, whether they be the disposition of territory or waterways or the internal regimes of the former Axis countries. That in turn involves relationships among the Allies—relationships reflecting the political outlook of each of the powers, how they propose to meet their postwar internals needs, and how they envision their foreign policies in the course of fulfilling the basic demands of their security and economy.

For a non-imperialist state such as the Soviet Union the formulation of policy is relatively simple. It is forthright, does not fumble or flounder because it is not faced with the mesh of contradictions that confront such imperialist entities as Great Britain and the United States. The proof of Soviet forthrightness in policy was clearly evident from Molotov's remarkable interview given the correspondents in London last week. Obviously the Foreign Commissar, not handicapped by anti-Communist bias, by McCormicks or Hearsts, by the contradictions of capitalism itself, could speak his mind clearly, and more, speak his mind in the name of a united socialist nation. Naturally the foreign correspondents, almost without exception, interpreted Molotov's remarks as very cleverly planned to outwit Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin. But the truth is that far from attempting to outwit his colleagues, Molotov was trying to introduce sanity and coherence based on principles which even the representatives of capitalist powers could accept. One need only recall how the press treated Molotov's insistence that Argentina be kept out of San Francisco. Molotov was proved right by the march of events and his colleagues from London and Washington were proved wrong. And when Molotov castigated the Greek regime, that merely represented the application of a principle which he had used in the case of Argentina. There was logic and continuity in his refusal to have Greek reactionaries present at the ministers' meeting, for in essence they were no different from the Peron clique operating in Buenos Aires.

When Molotov challenged those who were misrepresenting what was happening in the Balkans, he was in turn challenged as trying to impose regimes on that area of Europe which were anti-democratic. The history of the Allied debate over Poland is evidence that the whole Soviet effort was to assure the operation of democracy by eliminating those elements which brought Poland to ruin and supporting those that fought to win back her independence. In the Balkans the Polish issue is repeating itself in one form or another. And it is pitiful to see how the American and British delegations have learned nothing from the Polish experience. Molotov insists that they learn because the degree to which they learn will not only determine the stability of relations among the great powers, but will decide other matters such as foreign trade that have such great bearing on postwar reconversion. What will it profit the United States and Great Britain to restore in Rumania, or Hungary or Bulgaria, those semi-feudal landowners who will resist industrialization even if it means civil war?

Mr. Bevin may say that the index to democracy in the Balkans is the extent to which the opposition is permitted free reign. But what is the opposition but those groups and forces which united with Hitler during the war or remained passive towards the underground movements? There are thousands of little Petains in the Balkans, and what Molotov was saying in effect was that we cannot have any dealings with them even if they now raise the banner of democracy and demand a place on the ballot. It is to the American people's advantage to allow the fresh democratic forces of Europe free sway, for it is they who will want the products of American workshops to build up their countries' economic independence as against those who would keep them in semi-feudal bondage.

THE same applies to the Soviet interest in the Italian colonies. Not only is it the USSR's right to ask for individual trusteeships because this was agreed upon at San Francisco, but Moscow is again reiterating the principle that the Soviets cannot be excluded from any issue that involves the peace and prosperity of the world of which they are a part.

Naturally the British were thrown into a stew by Molotov's special interest in Tripolitania and Eritrea. This threatened their Mediterranean life lines, they said, forgetting that the whole colonial system threatened the lives of millions and created weak links in the chain of peace. But more, the British know that an Italian colony in the trusteeship of the Russians will become a model of ethnic and economic democracy in practice. The Soviet leaders are past masters in understanding the real content of self-determination and they have a quarter of a century's experience in liberating what was a colonial prisonland under the Czars. For Social Democrats of the caliber of Attlee and Bevin that history may be a little too much for them to stomach, but the colonial peoples will welcome this new development without anxiety over the digestive processes of the British Labor government's leaders.

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Peron on the Griddle

BETWEEN 500,000 and 800,000 citizens turned out in Buenos Aires on September 20 to demonstrate for "Liberty and the Constitution." It was the biggest, most disciplined and most enthusiastic outpouring of the people that Argentina has ever seen. The last shred of pretense of popular support was torn from the Farrell-Peron regime whose admission to the United Nations the State Department sponsored last April. Here, too, was the crushing answer to those who have criticized the Argentine people for their "apathy," or their "nationalist and pro-fascist" sentiment.

Remove Patton!

GENERAL GEORGE S. PATTON should be removed at once as head of the Military Government in Bavaria. In an interview with the press he opposed the denazification program and defended his use of Nazis and other reactionaries in the German government he has installed. "This Nazi thing," he said, "is just like a Democratic-Republican election fight."

The Potsdam agreement specifically called for the denazification of German industry and all other phases of German life. General Eisenhower's orders are clear on the subject, but there has been persistent flouting of them in the lower command. In the New York *Times* of September 20 Raymond Daniell writes:

"It has become a fairly common thing for military government officers to remove an important executive of industry for Nazi activities, only to be ordered by Army officers to reinstate him, with a consequent loss of prestige to the military government.

"The impression seems to be gaining throughout the United States zone that the order for the complete denazification of German industry and trade can be ignored without the slightest fear of disciplinary action. Even Gen. George S. Patton, Jr. is reported to have asked a fiscal officer investigating the Nazi connections of certain bankers in Bavaria if he did not think it 'silly' to try to get rid of 'the most intelligent' people in Germany."

Among the chief causes for this Daniell includes "the tendency to agree with and accept the constant German propaganda to the effect that unless something is done to help Germany get on her feet again, Communism will become a real danger to Western Europe."

The details given by Daniell are alarming, yet they pale beside reports in the New York *Post* of charges by unnamed US government representatives, recently returned from Germany, that the cartel apparatus which motored the Nazi machine is rapidly being reassembled *with American aid!*

And now Patton tops it off by revealing his pro-fascist sympathies and his contempt for the Potsdam commitments. Isn't it time to remind President Truman that the document he signed at Potsdam is supposed to mean what it says?

The Big Stick

FORMER Secretary of War Stimson's plea for the retention of a huge military establishment matches Secretary Forrestal's demand for a navy without rivals in strength and power. In fact, Mr. Forrestal goes so far as to ask for a fleet stronger than the combined navies of the whole world. Now as plain citizens we would like to know exactly who it is that Stimson and Forrestal are afraid of? The Japanese, German and Italian navies have surrendered to the Allies. We had also assumed that the United States was diplomatically committed to a policy of collective security which even Mr. Stimson acknowledged in his farewell statement. It was also our impression that the combined forces of the United Nations Organization were to be the key means for stopping aggression. Perhaps we have been misreading the newspapers about the World Charter, but we doubt it. The truth is that the demand for enormous naval and military arms is only compatible with the economic and political outlook of American imperialism.

Rub the big navy and big army advocates hard enough and you find two things: (1) that they do not genuinely believe in collective security and are quite ready to replace it with a private big stick; (2) that their professions of comradeship for the United Nations are so much poppycock and what they really mean is American domination over the globe. If Mr. Stimson wanted to avoid suspicion on the part of our Allies about America's intentions, he merely roused that suspicion with his big army talk. And do big armies and navies really protect the peace? All one need do is turn back to the late thirties to see how France's huge military forces meant nothing when Daladier signed the Munich agreement. It is the character of policy that counts; if it is American policy not to destroy the German and Japanese war-makers, to continue reactionary intervention in the Balkans, then no American army and navy can keep the peace whatever their size. Placed side by side with Herbert Hoover's proposals for economic aggression outlined in a speech last week, the remarks of Stimson and Forrestal form a pattern that spells disaster for the United States in the long run and serious trouble in the immediate future.

Test in Detroit

DEVELOPMENTS this past week throughout America underscored the stark reality that solution to the key issue of reconversion—maintenance of high purchasing power—demands maximum and consistent mobilization of the nation's masses, particularly labor. The country's legislators stubbornly continued to act contrary to the time's necessities. Labor saw the Senate vote down the twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks bill; and workingmen were drawing the necessary conclusions. They were gearing for the hard pull to win wage raises nationally to compensate for the diminution in take-home pay.

The employers, utilizing the commercial press, sought to conjure up the bugaboo of vast strike waves in their campaign to split the middle classes, the returning veteran, the jobless, from their strongest ally—organized labor.

Detroit continued to be the focal point of this tug-of-peace. Here the nation's most powerful monopolists were combining their strengths; they appeared to be weighing the decision—either to try to destroy the unions through provoking strikes, or to arrive at agreements by means of collective bargaining. R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, clearly outlined the desires of the unions, scotching the notion that his membership were hellbent for strike. He pointed out that they do not want a strike, but hoped the agreements could be reached via negotiation for the thirty percent wage raise. The union's administration was presenting the demand for the thirty percent increase to the locals for approval; thus the rank and file would discuss and clarify the issues involved, and would itself determine upon the strike decision should that become the only alternative.

Large sections of the membership were angry at the recent antics of Walter Reuther, vice president of the union, whose much-publicized statements helped the employers build a strike-scare. Reuther's distortion of union policy—his "revelations" concerning taking on

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the big companies "one at a time"—were seen as a continuation of his efforts to pose as the "militant" of the leadership. This was understood as part of his long-range conspiracy to capture the presidency of the powerful union. Despite his "militant" front, he continues to be the employers' fair-haired candidate for the leadership of the great union. The spreads he enjoys in the commercial press testify to that fact.

Fortunately, the rank and file is becoming aware of the perils of Reuther's unbridled personal ambitions—and they appear to be drawing the necessary conclusions. Meanwhile, it becomes more than ever necessary for labor's allies to support the struggles of the UAW—for the first great test of whether labor nationally will maintain its gains will be made in the General Motors-Ford-Chrysler realm.

The Aluminum Trust

ATTORNEY GENERAL TOM CLARK'S report to Congress on monopoly in the aluminum industry is both revealing and instructive. The Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) until the war controlled the production of this light metal 100 percent. Its absolute control and planned restriction of all productive capacity created a dangerous shortage of aluminum during the early part of the war. Over Alcoa protests the government built, at a cost of over $1,000,000,000, new plants which accounted for fifty-two percent of wartime production. The Attorney General brands Alcoa as a monopoly and makes two proposals to transform it into "free enterprise": the "breaking up" of Alcoa into several competitive units and the disposal of government-owned plants to non-Alcoa interests. The first of these proposals may have some limited value, but these measures, even if carried out, will hardly alter the monopoly character of the aluminum industry. The Standard Oil monopoly was "dissolved" in 1911 by federal courts into a series of "independent" units. Today they function as parts of an even vaster monopoly.

The economic core of monopoly capital consists of the fusion of banking with industrial capital as part of the process of creating vast industrial combines in many forms, including huge blocs that "compete" with one another within agreed upon limits. Monopolies cannot be "broken up"; under capitalist conditions they can only be regulated, controlled or nationalized. The ultimate solution of the evils growing out of private monopolies will be their socialization.

Attorney General Clark's proposals aim to broaden slightly the base of ownership of the aluminum industry and thus break the artificial rigging of prices by Alcoa. His proposals may achieve this for a brief period until the various new parts of the industry get together and reach price agreements as has happened in steel, auto, railroads.

A modern step in the direction of controlling monopolies and prices is through nationalization and a permanent OPA buttressed with a powerful labor movement and a popular democratic political coalition. In relation to the aluminum industry the obvious immediate measure is to *retain* government ownership of the billion-dollar sector of aluminum production built with public funds during the war and operate it for the benefit of the entire nation. Why not a TVA in aluminum?

AROUND THE WORLD

NEXT PLAY IN GREECE

IN VOLOS, the capital city of Thessaly, Greece, the government authorities decided a few weeks ago to honor the unknown sailor with a public gathering and the usual patriotic ceremonies. In ordinary times such an event would have drawn from five to ten thousand people. But how many answered the call of the authorities? Not more than *fifteen persons*—and a score of children.

This story is an index to what is happening in Greece. The Greeks are traditionally patriotic. They have erected many monuments to their heroes, so it was by no means a lack of patriotism that held the people of Volos back.

The fact is that six months of terror, murder, and hunger—particularly after the Varkiza agreement which was to have paved the way for a democratic government—have deepened the chasm between the people and the monarcho-fascists who hold Athens in their grip. The central Committee of the EAM, the National Liberation Movement, has issued the second volume of its *White Book* covering the post-Varkiza period from February to June of 1945. Here one can easily see with names, addresses, facts and figures how the gilded crew surrounding Regent Archbishop Damaskinos have extended to a national scale their assaults on the people which up until December 1944 were more or less confined to the Athens-Piraeus area. It is clear from the *White Book* that despite the protests of the majority of Greeks the internal scene is rapidly deteriorating. The army has become the willing instrument of the monarcho-fascists. "The state machine," says the *White Book*, "not only is not purged of the collaborationist elements; on the contrary, it is dominated by them. The traitors not only are not punished, but they are punishing and persecuting those who fought for liberation during the occupation. . . . About 20,000 people are detained in the jails." Even Damaskinos admitted the figure to be 16,000.

Thus the situation in Greece has reached an impasse and the failure of the British-inspired economic plan of Kyriakos Varvaressos, the former vice premier, is simply the outcome of a complete rupture between the Greek masses and the bitterly reactionary government. I believe that even the British Foreign Office now realizes that nothing can bridge the gap between the people and the ruling gang. Damaskinos was called to London ostensibly to inform it of what was going on in Greece but in reality, however, to find out what would be a good substitute for the bankrupt monarcho-fascists—a substitute that would not interfere with British imperialist interests. It would seem that British officialdom is more or less convinced that King George is of little value to them any longer. The king is thoroughly discredited in Greece, although the extreme fascist section of the royalists (made up of collaborationists and former leaders of the dictatorial King George-Metaxas regime) agitates for a November plebiscite on the issue of monarchy before the hand-picked electoral lists are replaced

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"Rupert, men like you are failing to inspire confidence these days."

by genuine ones. Interestingly enough, these monarchists, most of whom attacked King George during the occupation, now attack the British for letting him down. In the end, of course, all these traitors and collaborationists will jump on whatever new bandwagon the British imperialists hammer together; they may even stop talking as royalists and adopt democratic slogans.

What are the British (in cooperation with Washington) doing in regard to Greece? First, they decided to send a commission to supervise the Greek "elections." I say elections in quotation marks because even the old liberal parties threaten to abstain from participating in them. The EAM and the Communists will definitely stay out, nor will they participate in compiling lists or in the registration. That means that only twenty to twenty-five percent of the Greek people will vote. The registration in one electoral district of Athens up to September 2, the last day of registration, is revealing. There 35,900 registered in 1936; this time only 5,554 have registered. In another district of Piraeus, out of 15,800 who registered in the last election only 925 had registered by September 2. Yet Athens and Piraeus are more crowded than ever with people who moved there hoping to get more relief there than in the outlying districts. The government is extending the time for registration.

Under such circumstances, the American and British supervision of the elections would give prestige and authority to a purely monarcho-fascist and collaborationist election. The Soviet government has refused to take any part in them, since in the words of Ned Russell, correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune* (September 13), such supervision "would serve only to protect the position of the [Greek] government." The Greek people desire that the Yalta decisions to form a provisional, representative government be applied to their country, because only such a government can guarantee free elections.

In the meantime, the British, French and Americans have already suggested the postponement of the plebescite on the question of the monarchy, and the holding of a constituent assembly before the end of the year; but no elections can be held before the redrafting of the electoral lists and this will take at least six months. In any case, no solution can be good in the absence of a representative government. It is not unlikely, to judge from the news reports, that the British Labor Party hierarchy is trying to establish a "De Gaulle-Social-Democratic" pattern for Greece—that is, a reactionary combination mixed with enough so-called Social-Democrats to make it acceptable. In Greece, however, it would be a "Liberal-Social-Democratic" regime. Unfortunately for Mr. Bevin and Mr. Laski, there never was a Social-Democratic mass movement in Greece—only small groups led in great part by the notorious George Papandreou, whose hands are stained with the bloodshed of December 1944, and who, at best, can only be defined as a monarcho-socialist. The fact is that almost every man or woman in Greece who thinks that socialism is a good thing joins the Communist Party—which explains the Communists' unusual numerical strength.

If Washington and London have their way, Greece may get a "middle of the road" government, which would include people of a grossly reactionary character with a sprinkling of progressives. This government might even offer one or two portfolios to the EAM and the Communist Party. But the EAM coalition made clear its attitude toward this device. Its central committee has demanded a representative government based primarily on the resistance movement—a movement ignored by the British and Regent Damaskinos. The resistance movement means above all the EAM and the Communist Party supported by the great majority of the people. Any other government that does not give the fullest representation to these two dominant factors in Greek life will be no different from the reactionary Voulgaris government now in Athens. It would continue to be a pawn in the hands of British diplomacy and as such would be used against Greece's Balkan neighbors and their desire for close friendship with the Soviet Union. The reactionary Greek press, for example, is waging intensive political warfare against all of Greece's northern neighbors, particularly Yugoslavia. It fears, as does international reaction, the potential unity of the Balkan peoples—a unity deriving not only from moral and material bonds but from their common experiences in their past history. A reactionary Greece can serve as the great obstacle in welding such unity, and nothing short of a democratic, progressive Greece can make it certain.

DEMETRIOS CHRISTOPHORIDES.

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READERS' FORUM

No "Dilemma"

TO NEW MASSES: Last month I wrote you mildly criticizing Nathan Ausubel's article, "The Jewish Writer's Dilemma" (NEW MASSES, July 31). Evidently my letter was too "unconcrete," possibly too long. I do think, however, that this problem is too serious to be left undiscussed. Mr. Ausubel's well written and lucid article does, however, promote a point of view that must prove unhelpful not only to Jewish writers but to all Jewish men of creative will. I must confess, incidentally, that I have heard many names hurled at my people. And to be called a dilemma, to my sensitive Jewish eardrum, is the last refinement of invective.

Consider the three subdivisions of the grand dilemma: I. To Have Been Born a Jew. II. To Have Been Born a Jew With a Desire to Write. III. To Have Been a Jew With a Desire to Write—In a Restrictive Capitalist Environment. The grand dilemma, of course, is To Have Been Born.

Change the word "Jew" to "Negro," "Puerto Rican," "Mexican," "Filipino." Does it not, comparatively, make as much sense?

Being a Jew is neither dilemmatous nor unfortunate. The Jew, being extremely perceptive because of a frequent sense of isolation, is capable of an objectivity regarding the American scene which many old-stock Americans find hard to capture. The Jew, because of his struggles, remains an idealist and a fighter. The Jew is able, because of his background, to identify himself with the plight of other depressed minorities. For a writer, then, it is an immeasurable advantage to have been born a Jew.

Mr. Ausubel muddies the waters slightly when he states: "It is conceivable then that such fine Jewish writers as Albert Maltz, Lillian Hellman and Leonard Ehrlich could remain American writers with a 'universal' appeal if they *also* wrote on Jewish themes as well as on any others that they chose. . . ." Mr. Ausubel fails to understand what makes the guts of a writer churn. Maltz, Hellman and Leonard Ehrlich (as well as many others I could name) *could* have written about Jews, if they chose. They did not choose to: (1) because they did not know enough about Jews, and (2) because for these writers Jewish themes *per se* did not possess the drama that other themes did. If Albert Maltz finds himself in an artistic dilemma I should be interested in hearing it from Albert Maltz. The Jewish writer is under no spiritual obligation to write on Jewish themes. Neither is he compelled, except through weakness, to pursue Mammon.

Clifford Odets writing about Bronx Jews was often superb. Odets writing about Chinese generals and befogged Cockneys is mediocre. Odets made his bed and I'm afraid he is not only stuck with it but *to it* as well.

It was not at all necessary for Mr. Ausubel to endow the Jewish writer with a private and *chosen* crown of throwns. The Jew can today stand straight and firm and with dignity. If we write about such Jews we will be published. I think it is so. In fact I have just sold a story to *Liberty* on precisely such a Jew. I know that I will sell others.

In some years to come there will be few nations where anti-Semitism will go unpunished by law. In the meantime, for socialism's sake—let's not cower!

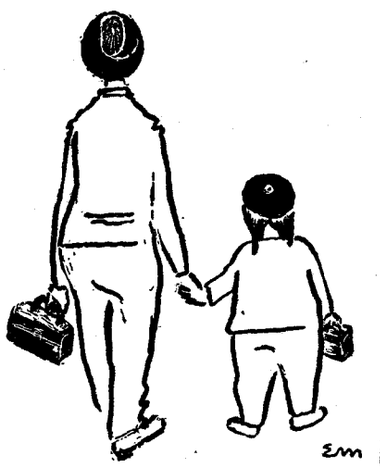
SID SCHUMANN.

Los Angeles.

From the Philippines

The following letter was written before V-J Day. We are publishing it despite the fact that its literal history is now some time past, because it presents a warm and lively picture of our Filipino allies.

TO NEW MASSES: In the calm of morning, the outriggers start coming to the ships. The GI's, fed up to the gills with the overcrowded and inactive voyage, flock to the railings. Their humor is typically American. "What you know, Joe?" they shout to the natives. The visitors are dressed in burlap sacks or old clothes. Hunger is in the kids.



Edith Miller.

There is a dark-haired girl with even white teeth. Corinne is her name. She is timid and shy at first and hides her simple smile with her hand. We do not know our Filipino allies but she is a charming augury. We had an enemy sub alarm and air-raid alert on our way here from New Guinea. But here is the war against humans. We see this when they scramble aboard, trade mats for our GI blankets, swap Japanese invasion money for anything we want to give them. They tell sharp stories of the Japanese trying to put them to forced labor, killing those who opposed them in any way, outraging and diseasing their women.

The guys keep kidding Corinne. Ask her if the man in the boat is her husband. She laughs musically and then covers her smile with her hand. "Your father?" we ask. The smile goes quickly from her face and it is darker. "I am fatherless," she replies. There is silence for a moment at this.

Soon we are joshing again. We find where she lives, that she was taught English by one of the many missions here, that she is fifteen, sings well and knows how to flirt harmlessly with the American boys. Already someone has promised to take her back to the States. "San Francisco will be a new home," she says.

All this time, the fellows are throwing their sympathy to the hapless Filipinos. Cigarettes, candy, matches, K rations, chocolate go over the side. Soon the ship is minus towels, soap, athletic shirts, fatigue caps and shirts, suntans, shelter halves, toothbrushes and toothpaste. Even a copy of *Esquire* finds its way into their bamboo-sided rigs. They ask for blankets, especially blankets, for the Japs have stripped them of everything. They are cold.

And they are hungry. Three young kids pull alongside. "Food," they ask. Our rations are earmarked but like the clothes they go down to the natives with greater meaning. Some of the cans hit the water and the kids go down like nimble retrievers. Somebody throws a pack of Prince Albert. "Tobacco," the guys yell. The kids do not understand. "For a pipe," we explain. Soon the pipe is thrown. They understand, put it in their pipe and smoke it.

These kids have no trouble with military courtesy: everybody is "Sir" to them. We have Filipinos traveling with us. We have noticed their respect for the Americans. But these are mostly those who have lived in the States the last fifteen to twenty years and show the self-consciousness of a minority people. These natives, however, greet the Americans as part of Uncle Sam's mighty muscle that has punched the Jap out of their homes, letting them return from their hiding places in the hills. The guerrillas, many of them just kids, are still in the mountains, we are told. When there are no more Japs, they, too, will come down to mingle with their American buddies.

One of the women has a crying kid in her arms. It is squalling, pressing against her dress. The woman is shy, for there are many men's eyes on her. But the kid's hunger has no shame and she takes out her breast. It sucks

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hungrily. There are no wisecracks. To many this little infant of different color brings thoughts of a man's own kids back home or the kids to be.

Always the kids. Isn't that what we're fighting for: our own kids and their living in a free world without fascist skies; the kid at this Filipino woman's breast and through them for all the natives under the Jap and German heel?

The winches of our ship are starting. We are all dressed in our treated "herringbone twills," leggings, steel helmets, armed weapons, gas masks, jungle packs—and the inevitable duffel bags on our backs. The harbor is bristling with our steel: the air is strong with our planes.

X is our destiny here. We are anxious to land, get the job done and go home to our families. Seeing these natives, we are reminded of what the fascist does to a family. "I am fatherless," Corrinne said. In a small way we have learned from these Filipino friends just what we are fighting for. Isn't that the Cromwellian yardstick for good morale: "Know why you fight and love what you know."

TEC/5 ELI JAFFE.

National Wars

TO NEW MASSES: While I too do not agree with everything Mr. Bradford says in your August 28 issue, I believe your answer contains some grievous errors in regard to the national question and national wars. You say, in your editorial, "Report to Our Readers": "This was primarily what Marxists call a national war (even though it contained elements of a class war as well as of imperialist war) because it embraced not the interests of the workers alone, but of all classes, including the bourgeoisie. If in the war of 1914-1918, Lenin was able to speak of its progressive national element as represented by the struggle of Belgium and Serbia —an element which would have justified support of that struggle had it not been engulfed in the larger conflict of imperialist powers—how can we overlook the predominantly national character of the gigantic war against the Axis, in which the very existence and democratic achievements of large nation-states were at stake?"

Herein you indulge in a bit of mechanical oversimplification which is hardly in conformity with Lenin's and Stalin's thesis on the national question. Quoting from Stalin's *Leninism*, I think you should ponder the following: "The question of the rights of nations is not an isolated question complete in itself; it is part of the general question of the proletarian revolution, a part which is subordinate to the whole and must be dealt with from the point of view of the whole question. . . . The revolutionary character of a national movement in the conditions of imperialist oppression does not necessarily presuppose the existence of proletarian elements in the movement, the existence of a revolutionary or republican program of the movement, the existence of a democratic basis for the movement. The struggle the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of his country is objectively a revolutionary struggle, despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his entourage, for it weakens, disintegrates and undermines imperialism, whereas the struggle waged by the 'desperate' democrats and 'socialists,' 'revolutionaries' and 'republicans' like, for example, Kerensky and Tsereteli, Renaudel and Scheidemann, etc., during the imperialist war was a reactionary

struggle. . . . Lenin was right in saying that the national movement of the oppressed countries should not be evaluated from the point of view of formal democracy but from the point of view of the actual net results obtained as shown by the general balance sheet of the struggle against imperialism, that is to say, not in an isolated way but on a world scale."

Therefore, in the era of moribund imperialism, when the bourgeoisie of the big nation-states, the United States, Britain, etc., hate the very state and its form—bourgeois democracy—which they, as a class, ushered in in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (1776, 1789) when the capitalist class as a class was historically progressive, how can you maintain that the bourgeoisie of these states was in this war to defend the nation, when this bourgeoisie has and is choosing fascism, to destroy the nation? It is entirely different with reference to oppressed nations and colonial peoples, where feudalism and semi-feudalism is the fact, and where these countries, because of the nature of world imperialism, have not even developed capitalism. But here too, as in China, for instance, large sections of the native bourgeoisie go over to the camp of the fascist imperialist invaders and oppressors. It can in no way, therefore, be concluded that the bourgeoisie of the big nation-states waged this war in the interests of national liberation at all. In doing this, you have unmistakably fallen into the trap of the Browder line again. . . .

The bourgeoisie of the great nations waged war against the Axis fascist bourgeoisie for two reasons: (1) to prevent the German bourgeoisie from redividing the world's markets at their expense; (2) chagrined because the bourgeoisie of the Axis countries did not take on and take on alone, the Soviet Union. The fact that this helped, objectively, to destroy fascism comes not from the bourgeoisie in the great nation-states being in this period national liberators or fighters for national liberation, but from the contradictions of imperialism, the strength of the Soviet Union and the people's movements in the occupied and colonial countries, and in the big nation-states themselves.

GORDON SLOAN,
Merchant Seaman,
Waterfront Branch,
New York. Communist Party.

Hold your hosses (or whatever the nautical equivalent may be), Brother Sloan! Just where did we say that "the bourgeoisie of these states [the United States, Britain, etc.] was in this war to defend the nation"? Or that they waged this war "in the interests of national liberation"? Neither in the quotation Mr. Sloan cites from our editorial nor in any other part of it does any such statement occur. What we did say was that this was primarily a national war and not a proletarian war, and that the interests of all classes, including the bourgeoisie, were involved in the war. This doesn't mean that the interests of all classes were identical or that big business was fighting to liberate the world from fascism. American big business, imperialist to the core, was in this conflict in order to get rid of dangerous imperialist rivals. And its reactionary pressure did a good deal of damage throughout the war—and after. But this doesn't alter the fact that for different reasons and working in different ways both big business and the working class wanted to smash the military power of the Axis. Or, as Mr. Sloan puts it, the bourgeoisie "helped, objectively, to destroy fascism." (Incidentally, we would qualify that statement since there is still much to be done before the economic and social roots of fascism are destroyed.)—The Editors.

Shame in "Story"

TO NEW MASSES: Somehow you might think a man who was smart enough to receive an A.B. and an A.M. from Brown University, and clever enough to teach English at the same school, would be smart enough to write a story without using a word which is offensive to well over 12,000,000 Americans. You might also think that the publisher of *Story Magazine* would know better than to let the offensive word appear. Briefly, the word is "nigger," the story is "Strictly From Heartburn" in the current issue of *Story* and the "smart" writer is David R. Ebbitts.

The story is about a musician who goes to a Village nightspot to listen to, and to play, jazz. Jazz, of course, owes much to Negro musicians and composers. Because of this, Mr. Ebbitts, in what seems to be an attempt at "authenticity," refers to "the heavy slow, nigger beat"; later, "it was nigger horn that the kid played." What is meant by the adjective in both cases is hard to determine. As a student of the subject I have never heard nor read the expressions used by Mr. Ebbitts. Nor can they be found in such standard works as *Jazz* by Goffin or *Le Jazz Hot* by Pannassie. Mr. Ebbitts should know, or be informed if he doesn't, that the word "nigger" is an insult to the Negro people.

GILBERT LAURENCE.

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THE NEW ENCYCLOPEDISTS

By LOUIS HARAP

ONE Sunday morning in June some thousands of Parisians assembled in the Palais de Chaillot to inaugurate one of the most imposing intellectual projects of recent years—the Encyclopedia of the French Renaissance. On the platform were distinguished Frenchmen: Louis Aragon, Profs. Paul Langevin, Henri Wallon, Georges Teissier. They expressed the spirit and explained the scope of the project. Their aim, in the words of the *Encyclopedia's Manifesto*, was "to prepare, despite the twilight of the occupation, the dawn of a new day." France was far from finished: there was much she could yet give the world. And the group around the new Encyclopedia recognized that infinitely more than economic regeneration was needed in France. They extended their conception of French revival to the intellectual sphere. Indeed, they were convinced that these spheres, economic, social, scientific, technological, and artistic were inextricably interdependent.

"The idea of the Encyclopedia," Professor Teissier told me, "originated among a group of intellectuals who had worked together clandestinely during the occupation." The project is a logical continuation of the resistance movement. These men harked back to another group of Encyclopedists who did so much to prepare the way for the French Revolution. Two hundred years ago a group of Frenchmen, less conscious of the momentous significance of their work than the present group, founded an Encyclopedia under the leadership of Diderot and D'Alembert. Once again the time had come to "prepare in all domains for a new efflorescence of the French spirit," as the *Manifesto* says. However, the synthesis of that earlier Encyclopedia, based on mechanical materialism, was no longer valid in a number of essential respects.

The basis of the new collective work was explained impressively by Professor Langevin, Nobel Prize winner and Resistance worker. The underlying conception of the old Encyclopedia, he said, of embracing the sciences, art and technology in a single collective work was still sound. Its most original feature was that for the first time the intimate connections of science and technology, of theory and practice, of thought and action, and their mutual fecundation were perceived. "*Homo faber* and *homo sapiens* were really one."

But insofar as the old Encyclopedia was founded on the Cartesian system, it could no longer comprehend the advances of knowledge, just as our age has outgrown the Newtonian physics. The present level of knowledge, said Langevin, requires dialectical materialism for its comprehension, and he showed this in several fundamental scientific instances. "I have been conscious of being able to understand those [essential moments] of physics," he said, "only from the moment that I had a knowledge of the fundamental ideas of dialectical materialism."

AS AN example of the fruitfulness of the method, Professor Teissier's address showed how agriculture and science have rendered service to one another, and he treated particularly the less familiar facts of how agriculture has helped science. The new Encyclopedia will include studies like these in order to "root the intellectual in the human mold," he said. The methodological basis for the Encyclopedia was not, however, narrowly conceived. As Professor Teissier told me, "It is not a doctrine but a direction." He expects a wide selection of French writers and scholars to contribute to the Encyclopedia which, in the words of the *Manifesto*, "is open to all free investigators, to all creators, to all who love the future. . . . One cannot impose any other condition on the thought of the savant but that it be true, of the technician that it be efficacious, of the artist that it be human."

The unfolding of the Encyclopedia will take years. Thirty years elapsed, said Langevin, between the inception of Diderot's Encyclopedia and the publication of the last volume. Work on the new Encyclopedia will go forward in three stages. Applying their aim "to unite intelligence and labor" and their conviction that practice and theory are inextricable, the Encyclopedists plan first to meet the urgent needs of French reconstruction. This year initial monographs have been arranged on "Urbanism and Reconstruction," and on the application of important wartime discoveries in medicine to peacetime uses. School manuals on French history and on the history of painting will be needed immediately. Other manuals on the history of the sciences, of technology, of the arts and of philosophy—all cleansed of the "miasma of Vichy and fascism," should follow quickly. Projects for a "Theater of the Nation" and a "Salon of the French Renaissance" are under way.

Second will be publication of syntheses in the sciences, technology, and the arts. These works will give France the opportunity to resume her intellectual contributions to the world. The final stage of the Encyclopedia will be the coordination of these syntheses into a "*Summa*" in each special field.

FRENCH scientific and artistic genius has already been assembled on the directing board of the Encyclopedia. Included are the writers Louis Aragon and Paul Eluard; the mathematician Hadamard, the composer, Jacques Ibert; scientists Joliot-Curie, Langevin, Wallon, Teissier; architects Le Corbusier, Perret; painters Picasso and Matisse. With characteristic French daring and imagination, the aim of the Encyclopedists is nothing less than "to make of each Frenchman an intellectual."

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Eyes on Japan

THE JAPANESE NATION, *by John F. Embree. Farrar & Rinehart. $3.*
JAPANESE MILITARISM, *by John Maki. Knopf. $3.*

MR. EMBREE'S book is interesting not only for its subject matter but because the author spent the war years training AMG officers for the administration of the beaten Japanese (now, apparently, there is to be no AMG) and working for the Office of Strategic Services and the War Relocation Authority. It was primarily intended, no doubt, as a guide for the American public, and American officers on the spot, to the institutions of modern Japan.

Although written while the war was still at its height, the book is sweetly tolerant of these institutions and nowhere urges their destruction. In the treatment of Japanese agriculture prior to 1941 it is remarked that "the general position of the farmer was remarkably stable" and that much of the credit for this was due to "pressures for agricultural reform by the military." The sweatshop subcontracting in industry is handed a bouquet in the statement that it brought "something of the personal closeness of employer and employed . . . in the England of Charles Dickens," although it is further noted that "the benefits of this paternal arrangement . . . were most likely to accrue to the employer." The hold of the Zaibatsu (monopolist trusts) on Japanese economy is not linked to the growth of militarism. Surface frictions between the Zaibatsu and the army are promoted into fundamental conflicts between capitalism and "national socialism"—with Japanese big business as a reluctant victim.

Mr. Embree does his best to prove that a great deal of democracy exists in the Japanese state structure. Speaking of the countryside, he gives an idyllic picture of the township headman who "as a rule comes from one of the landowning farm families, . . . commands the respect of the villagers, . . . is responsible for the well-being of the community and is not above trying to settle disputes between man and wife or giving a stern paternal lecture to some rambunctious young man in the interests of village harmony. . . . The village councilors are usually of old respected landowning families and the headman would not even think of acting without consulting them." Even the ever-present Japanese police emerge as fine fellows and their arbitrary powers are described as a rather peculiar feature of the life of an alien people, rather than the chief bane of that people's existence. According to Mr. Embree the policeman "is conscientious in his duties even at the risk of life and limb. An aid to this integrity is the policy of transferring a man every few years to prevent him from becoming identified with local pressure groups. The special powers of an officer make him sometimes overbearing, though it is doubtful if the amount of third-degree activities is much greater among Japanese civil police than among some American city forces." The habitual use of torture in Japanese judicial investigations somehow gets lost in the shuffle.

The *Kimpei-ta,* or special police, whom General MacArthur is now using, are considered with equal affection. They do not bother people of good will "but are concerned with subversive activities. . . . In general their functions (and attitudes towards foreigners) are similar to those of the FBI in this country." One would not suspect, from reading this, that the special police were responsible for the brutal tormenting and murder alike of Japanese progressives (such as the martyred writer Kobayashi) and American war prisoners.

It is not surprising that Mr. Embree concludes by saying that, things being what they are, and the Japanese being the most civilized, literate and progressive state in Asia (he actually says this) nothing can prevent them from once more taking the leadership on that continent. Arguments over the role of the Emperor and other features of Allied post-surrender policy are airily dismissed as meaningless in the light of this apparent truth.

I would strongly recommend this book to anyone who wishes to understand how well the mild and "impartial" scholarship of a man who has studied and taught orthodox "social anthropology" in two American and two Canadian universities serves as theoretical backing for the MacArthur-Hodge policies. The calm assumption that whatever is is right dovetails perfectly with the freedom given to Japanese prophets of revenge, with the continued suppression of Japanese progressives, and with General Hodge's remarkable statement that everyone's right to live is an ample excuse for allowing the Japanese army in Korea to keep its arms for "protection" against the unarmed Korean people.

IT IS a relief to turn from this stinking bog to *Japanese Militarism,* by John M. Maki, a Japanese by birth who has no respect for policemen but a great deal for the potentialities of progressive change, whether in Japan or America.

Mr. Maki luckily escaped "social anthropology," having majored in English literature at the University of Washington. In his book, he does a competent job of documented interpretation of Japanese government to date as one by a militarist-dominated bureaucratic and economic oligarchy whose unparalleled flexibility has enabled it to make many historical transitions without losing control of its people. The democratic and "westernizing" forms assumed by the oligarchy when they suited its purposes are mercilessly exposed and the sources and tactical methods of Japanese imperialism analyzed.

Where Embree describes the demagogy of the militarists as a type of "socialism," Maki points out that militarist-Zaibatsu conflicts were due to the conviction of the extreme chauvinists that "the cure for the economic ills besetting Japan was not socialism or communism but the complete diversion of the energies of the state to conquest and aggression." He accurately predicts the post-surrender conduct of Japan's rulers and states that, far from "chaos" being undesirable, the "peculiar institutions" of Japan and the consequent woes of the Japanese people stem from the fact that the country has never undergone a democratic revolution. The whole structure of police control, he says, must go. "The less chaos arising out of violent political, economic and social change there is in Japan in the postwar period, the more certain it will be that Japan will again become a threat to world peace."

Mr. Maki is also entirely correct in relating the future of Japan to the future of imperialism, of whatever color, in Asia, and in his dictum that "the development of postwar Asia will be influenced by the manner in which China will be able to solve her great internal problems. The extent to which China is weak and disunited will determine the relative strength of Japan's postwar position."

Mr. Maki's reflections on the structure and future of his ancestral homeland are rich, thought-provoking and democratic in spirit, and should be widely read.

This is not to say, however, that this book is without flaws. Mr. Maki's studies in the tradition of the shogunate, which

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A Poem for Jacques Roumain

(Late People's Poet of Haiti)

When did you
Find out about the world,
Jacques?

You certainly found out about it
Before you went away.

When did you learn to say,
Without fear or shame,
Je suis communiste?

You had no job to lose
But you had
What lots of people think
Is more.

None amounted to much,
Though, did it?
When did you realize that?

I can't answer for you,
And you are gone.

You are gone—
Have gone—
Are gone—
You've gone.

Where?
If I knew
I'd be a celestial
Houdini.

You've gone—
But you are still here
From the point of my pen in New York
To the toes of the blackest peasant
In the *morne,*
Because you found out
What it is all about.

Never will you become
Anonymous.
Never will your dust
Become air—

Then nothingness—
Invisible.
Never will you become
Less than a name—
Or less than you.

Always
You will be
Man
Finding out about
The ever bigger world
Before him.
Always you will be
Frontiersman,
Pathfinder,
Breaker down of
Barriers,
Hand that links
Erzulie to the Pope,
Damballa to Lenin,
Haiti to the universe,
Bread and fish
To fisherman
To man
To me.

Strange
About eternity
Eternal
To the free.

LANGSTON HUGHES.

●

he applies to the present situation, are a partial, but not an adequate explanation of present-day Japanese imperialism. The small space given to developments and conflicts between 1880 and 1944, when *modern* Japan took shape, is a reflection on the abstract nature of his approach. The class analysis of feudal and pre-capitalist Japanese society is no substitute for a class analysis of contemporary Japan, even if the unchangeability of certain features of that society provides a key to much of its current behavior, just as the constant of Junkerdom is a valuable, but by no means the only, index to Nazism in Germany.

The reader will be fascinated, stimulated and taught a great deal by Mr. Maki's treatment of the subjects he covers, but when he puts down the book he will suddenly become aware that many of the names and forces familiar in our lifetimes, and in the lifetimes of today's Japanese, are not even mentioned. There is hardly a hint, for instance, of the fact that the ruling oligarchy's introduction of western technology and armament and of some western ruling-class techniques was paralleled by the constant and heroic efforts of Japanese progressives to import and apply western democratic and socialist thought, nor of the series of "peace preservation" ordinances and barbarous police measures which were used to abort these efforts since the 1880's. Such landmarks as the large-scale strikes that have taken place in Japan's modern industry, the great rice riots of 1919 and the vicissitudes of the workers' and peasants' movement are not even noted. It is right to stress that Japan has never had a revolution, but it is incorrect and dangerous to ignore the fact, which even Embree mentions, that the thought and example of the American, French, Russian and Chinese revolutions have stirred Japan's society and seriously threatened oligarchic domination. After all, Japan's political prisons have been full for many decades and not a few Japanese have died on the battlefields of China fighting "their own" army. Mr. Maki does a fine job of castigating the reactionaries of both Japan and the west but he fails to do justice to the people from whom he springs.

CLIFTON GALE.

Isolationist Historian

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF POLITICS, *by Charles A. Beard. Knopf. $1.75.*

JUST as there can be no unbiased neutrality on current issues so there can be no neutral histories. Professor Charles A. Beard is a striking example of a partisan historian who holds to a consistent and barren philosophy for the interpretation of contemporary events as well as the past. Unlike most historians he does not hesitate to appraise the events of our time right up to the day of publication of his books. No one who has read his *Basic History of the United States,* published last year, could mistake his glorification of the Hoover administration, his animosity to the late President Roosevelt, his antagonism to the New Deal and his belligerent neutrality against our war as anything but the projection into historical writing of the views of Republican isolationists. It is inevitable that a historian sharing the Hoover Republican political philosophy should also intepret our country's past in the light of that reactionary philosophy. Hence we read his antagonistic and distorted account of the great French Revolution and of the Russian Revolution, his "impartial" account of our Civil War, broadly hinting that the conflict was provoked by the Abolitionists and that the South would have abolished slavery voluntarily. It is also natural that he should glorify the Tory-minded Alexander Hamilton and reveal an ill-hidden animosity for Thomas Jefferson, the father of American democracy. There can be no neutral judgment of the sum total of social conflicts comprising history because there are at least two sides to every great conflict, one reactionary and one historically progressive.

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There can be little controversy about the reactionary nature of Beard's entire last full-size history. But many people still hold that his earlier works particularly on the American Constitution and Jeffersonian Democracy have been progressive contributions. It cannot be denied that in the above early works Beard had uncovered and presented much new vital material on the formative period of our nation and that he was among the first contemporary American historians to re-discover the importance of the economic factors in the evaluation of our past. Careful study of these works, however, reveals that Beard's conception of the economic factor is largely limited to the quantity of property and the volume of public security papers held by various individuals, groups and classes. He saw only the obvious, the immediate and often transitory economic interests and evaluated them as decisive historical factors. The moment he strayed from the statistical documents and appraised the more enduring historical economic categories he made basic errors which were the embryo of his reactionary interpretations of today.

It was Beard who characterized the epic conflict of Jeffersonian Democracy as the struggle of "agrarianism" against capitalism allegedly represented exclusively by Hamilton and his group. While he uncovered some sordid economic plots and motives of Hamilton's Federalist Party (overlooking their reactionary political content) he nevertheless placed that semi-monarchist cabal in a historically favorable light as the representatives of progressive economic development. If his estimate were correct Jeffersonian Democracy, embracing the overwhelming majority of the people, followed a historically reactionary path by "opposing" capitalism which, in that period, was irrefutably progressive and of which the agrarian economy was the foundation. Beard's inexcusably naive blunder of mistaking a struggle for democratic economic and political rights within the framework of the young, unfolding capitalist society, for a struggle against this society and against its "law and order" led him first to the vindication of Hamiltonian reaction and finally to the glorification of it and contempt for all peoples' democratic movements.

All the above observations are by way of an introduction to Beard's latest publication, *The Economic Basis of Politics*. This hundred-page booklet contains his total meager philosophy of history. The first seventy pages are a reprint of four lectures delivered in 1916 consisting almost entirely of quotations and description of views of a score of philosophers and statesmen from Aristotle to Daniel Webster to prove that property holdings and economic relations determine the content of politics and governments. These primarily seventeenth- and eighteenth-century views form the source of Mr. Beard's early economic determinism in the narrow and restricted sense which he mechanically applied to the formative period of American history. The final forty-odd pages make up a last chapter specially written to bring his views up to date. In this chapter Mr. Beard abandons his early economic determinism partly because he cannot find a "purely" economic interpretation of the rise and nature of fascism and partly because he finds that since 1914 the "military man" entered into competition with his "economic man" and the "political man," "in ways utterly immeasurable and indescribable."

This last chapter illustrates the poverty and shallowness of Mr. Beard's judgment. For example, he writes that the American "bankers have become in a large measure mere agents of the government in Washington." This is his illustration of the triumph of the "political man" (no doubt meaning the New Deal) over his precious "economic man." His present fear is that the "military man" will subdue the political man and militarism will triumph in America. The core of his dyspeptic, distorted and malicious seventeen-page account of the Russian Revolution and Communism is of Hearstian and Nazi propaganda quality. Marxist students of history will find his new book an excellent pathological case history of metaphysical eclecticism applied to the study of the development of human society.

RALPH BOWMAN.

A Greatness Hard to Dim

TOLSTOY AND HIS WIFE, *by Tikhon Polner. Translated by Nicholas Wreden. Norton. $2.75.*

GORKY'S reminiscences of Tolstoy could be printed on twenty pages, perhaps, of Polner's book, yet they reach deeper into Tolstoy than all of Polner's dredging. For this there is more than the obvious reason that Gorky is a great and loving and understanding writer, which Polner is not.

An emigre from the Revolution, exile could scarcely have sweetened Polner's regard for any of the forces which had undermined his world, and Tolstoyism had been such a force. There is no open avowal of antipathy, and the author himself may not have been conscious of it as more than an accepted attitude of his cosmopolitan, emigre circles; but the antipathy is apparent in his hostile use of contradictions in Tolstoy's life. It is still more marked in Polner's grudgingly incidental acknowledgement of Tolstoy's achievements.

Even the very limitation Polner set himself—Tolstoy's family relations—appears to be an expression of that antipathy. Such areas of a great man's life have always been the debunkers' targets. Any great man's intimacies can be used to scale him down to comic-pathetic, all-too-human dimensions. This is particularly the plight of a man of such a soaring and sensitive conscience as Tolstoy's. Much of Polner's book makes a spectacle of the great man being pulled up short on the tethers of necessity.

Polner's book therefore is hardly the one to go to for a sense of the stature and role of Tolstoy. The interesting thing is that Tolstoy proves too large and mobile a force to be held in. Toward the end, by the sheer accumulation of the things that Tolstoy dared and did, and acknowledged in inescapable references by the author, the greatness of the man breaks out of the book's confines.

It may be protested that the book should be considered in its own terms and not those of the book I would have had him write. But I am not criticizing the limitations Polner set himself, but the attitudes which seem to have dictated those limitations and then shut out the illuminations possible even within them.

The major deficiency in Polner is that he avoids consideration of the relation between the writer and his society. This would be a mistake for even a special and secluded writer and for a writer in any other country. But it becomes critical in dealing with a Russian writer, and above all with Tolstoy, whose public influence was as large perhaps, as any writer in history.

Because of the pre-revolutionary tensions in the Russian social system the writer's responsibility was enormous and had decisive effects upon his career. Gogol was almost literally terrified into silence and illness after the seemingly unintended significance of his great satires were pointed out by the critics. Turgenev was forced into exile; Dostoyevsky was driven into mystical Pan-Slavism; and Tolstoy, in whom it

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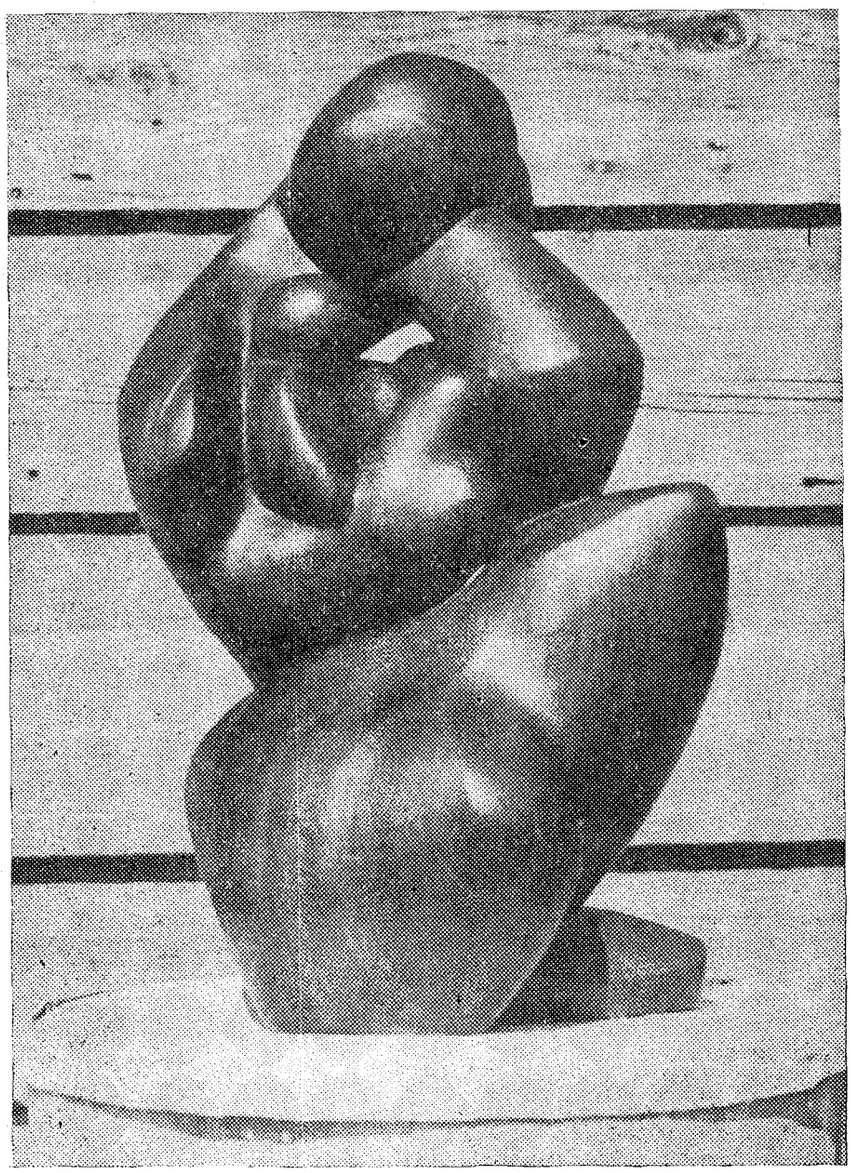

"Mother and Child," mahogany, by Edmund Weil.

worked most dramatically, was drawn from creative writing into the role of semi-religious leader. This was regrettable both for literature and for the social revolution which might have gained even more than it did from his moral force and his world-wide prestige. But it must be understood as another extreme response to a social situation in which the writer, willing or not, played a great part.

It is understandable why the emigre Polner shunned that reality. Yet, though he seems to avert his gaze from it, he has to take into account its specific consequences in Tolstoy's life. He has to take note of the immense following Tolstoy won, of the fact that when the Orthodox Church was finally stung into excommunicating him it only managed to hurt itself; and of the phenomenon of a powerful police state kept under constant public indictment by the words and example of a great and courageous man.

And thus, as has happened before, the subject triumphs over the author. The greatness of Tolstoy comes through. And for this, as well as for the fact that Polner tells his restricted story precisely and readably, *Tolstoy and His Wife* is worth reading.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Where Quacks Rule

WHERE DO PEOPLE TAKE THEIR TROUBLES? *by Lee R. Steiner. Houghton Mifflin. $3.*

DR. STEINER has done well to choose a directly descriptive title for her book. Her discussion touches on so many related topics the reader may easily find himself making demands beyond the limitations Dr. Steiner set herself. For it is a virtue of her book that it stimulates the reader to ask for more about the sources of people's troubles, about emotional disorders and their course; more about psychological methods of treatment; how treatment and fees can be adjusted to the general need; how education can help; instituting specific programs for government aid, etc.

That there must be a greater social responsibility for the emotionally distressed is made emphatically clear. For Dr. Steiner's investigation of the people to whom troubles are usually taken reveals that most of them are frauds. They are the self-appointed healers, "doctors" without legitimate degrees, spiritualists, "yogis," radio advisers who preside over "courts," newspaper columnists guided by "common sense," "lonely heart" clubs, marriage brokers, "before and after" beauty specialists, etc. The long list includes a vocational guidance bureau, which aborts a function that could be made useful. Dr. Steiner's study also takes her to the established churches and synagogues to learn what constructive help they offer to the troubled.

Her method is consistently thorough, first-hand and efficient. For the purposes of her research, she became an individual with a problem, a lonely heart, the mother of a problem child. When she used ruse, she made it serve the aims of her study. And she succeeded in gaining entrance to dubious places: the kind that advertise freely but operate cautiously, on a cash basis, and within narrow legal margins. She names names—such people as Dale Carnegie, Mr. Anthony, Dorothy Dix, among others. Wherever possible she approached these sages professionally, challenging and testing their claims to "cures." The most astonishing revelation to me, and the saddest, was the way sick who came to be cured, stayed to become "doctors" themselves. Again and again Dr. Steiner, when presenting herself or her "problem child" for help, was advised to "register" at the school of the famous healer and in receiving help become an "accredited" helper. Thus a fraternity of maladjusted, seeking an escape from their own difficulties, perpetuate and capitalize on the difficulties of others.

Dr. Steiner not only does a skillful job of investigating, she uses her material to underline two main constructive suggestions. One, she shows the advisability of taking emotional problems to trained people: to the psychiatrist, psychiatric social worker, clinical psycholo-

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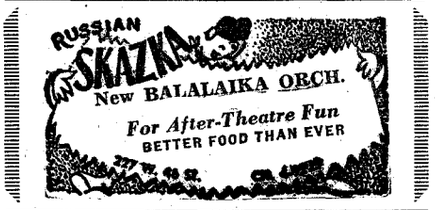

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gist, or psychonanalyst. Two, she makes urgently clear the need for government intervention, both in ending the scandal of leaving such an important area of public health without the protection of licensing, and in making facilities for receiving psychological treatment more nearly adequate and accessible. For Dr. Steiner admits that the present facilities are so inadequate that only those living in metropolitan areas, or near universities whose psychology departments conduct clinics, can seek help.

Within the set limits of her book, I have only one quarrel with Dr. Steiner. At the outset she gives herself the task of finding out where people *who are not poor* take their troubles. The implication is that the *poor* are taken care of by social agencies. This seems to me an inadmissible distinction. For only the most general sort of guidance, spread far too thin, is given to the extreme poor who become social-agency cases; and within that category only emergency cases get consistent treatment.

Some readers may be inclined to criticize Dr. Steiner for the absence in her study of an analysis of some of the causes of mental disorders, especially those that are controllable through social organization. (Dr. Steiner, for example, merely alludes to the emotional stresses of the unemployed.) But as I indicated at the beginning of my review, this is obviously not within the scope of what Dr. Steiner set out to do.

Yet even the tentative proposals Dr. Steiner makes, that governmental agencies meet the problems discussed, are enough to raise outcries in the conservative press. The New York *Herald Tribune* book reviewer jeeringly concludes her comment on this aspect of the book with, "Are you unhappy? Then which do you choose, a bureaucrat with the power of the government behind him, or Madame X? Quick, cross the gypsy's palm with silver."

Actually Dr. Steiner has virtually limited her role to that of investigator. What she set out to do she has admirably accomplished in an important and absorbing small book that should serve as an eye-opener to the general reader.

HELEN BERLIN.

Progress as Belief

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS IN AMERICA, 1815-1860, *by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. Columbia University Press. $3.50.*

A DOMINANT thread in modern philosophy and science—making its appearance with the birth of modern history, the birth of capitalism—is the idea of progress. In the modern era denials of this concept have achieved prevalence only in chattel-slave or fascist areas. In the vigorous, pioneering, expanding days of our bourgeois democracy, our Congress hurried to recognize states appearing as a result of mass rebellions and officially welcomed European revolutionists. A passionate belief in progress, improvement, advancement, an eagerness to embrace and to hasten along an ever more glorious future—existed almost everywhere, except in the brains of certain ideologists of the slaveocracy.

Dr. Ekirch's interesting work describes the stimulating presence of this belief in our history and some of the effects it had upon American life during that invigorating period. Accurate as the narrative is, the value of the work would have been enhanced considerably had it been more interpretive than it is. But the story has never been told before as an integrated whole.

It is refreshing to have this story told in our part of the world and in our day, when so much of the atmosphere is permeated by cynicism. It is good to be reminded, at a time when it is considered "smart" to have a philosophy of no philosophy, that such attitudes would have seemed incredible to Americans like Emerson, Thoreau, Bryant, Whitman, Horace Mann, Charles Sumner, Margaret Fuller, and Frederick Douglass.

Indeed, this reviewer sensed a certain air of reserve, a certain coldness, a certain incompleteness in Ekirch's presentation of the optimism, or, better, activism, of these immortals. Emphasis might well have been placed upon the spirit evidenced by Emerson's remark to Carlyle, not quoted in this work, that, "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform. Not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket. I am gently mad myself, and am resolved to live cleanly." Or, one may cite as another example, the challenge of Lucretia Mott (a personage unaccountably absent in this work): "I care not for charges of verbal infidelity; the infidelity I should dread, is to be faithless to the right, to moral principle, to the divine impulses of the soul, to a confidence in the possible realization of the millennium now."

This vital confidence permeated the vanguard of America's heroic age. It gave them strength to take and keep the offensive against the doubters and the

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exploiters. Ekirch's book, almost in spite of itself, helps document that fact.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

Brief Review

POLITICS AND MORALS, *by Benedetto Croce. Philosophical Library. $3.*

CROCE'S development from acceptance of Marx's "economic moment" to his rejection of Marxian materialism during Mussolini's regime is an illuminating chapter in the history of modern liberalism. Unfortunately, the present volume does not provide the material for such study. It contains an indiscriminate selection from Croce's essays on politics, morals, history of political philosophy, etc., couched in vague formulations, so that the philosopher of "the practical" reads like a German metaphysician. Most of these essays were written during the Fascist regime, and Croce seems to be laboring under the difficulty of meaning what he does not say and saying what he does not quite mean. He who had once termed Marxism "one of the noblest and boldest" programs now writes that we must free ourselves "from everything belonging to that doctrine" (historical materialism). He who had written that the interest which prompts the formation of the surplus value concept is a moral interest, now equates liberalism with freedom from the economic motive.

In one place Croce speaks of the dialectical process and of "moral life" as embracing the revolutionary approach; in another, he states that an action is moral if, in the full light of conscience, it is deemed necessary for the State. These ambiguities seem to issue from Croce's attempt to apply his former concepts to new issues, and we get such questionable formulations as that "the real problem is not how to be a good liberal . . . but how to act . . . in a manner suitable to reality."

D. R.

Worth Noting

THE first performance of Sergei Prokofiev's new opera *War and Peace* was given at the Moscow Conservatory. It was composed to a libretto based on Tolstoy's epic written by the composer in collaboration with the poet, M. Mendelssohn. The opera, in four acts and eleven scenes, has been hailed for its dramatic expressiveness. It avoids the rounded aria, using in its place melodious recitative.

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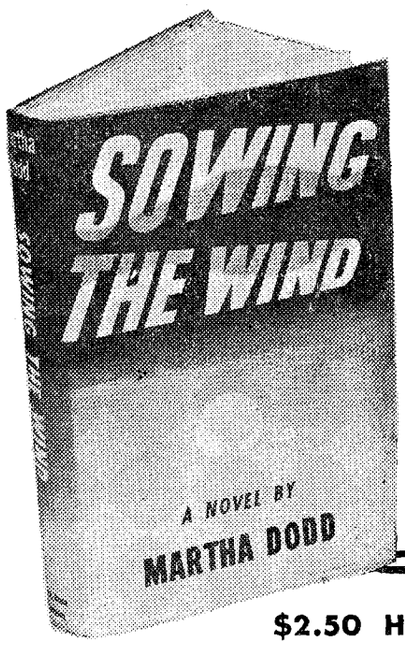

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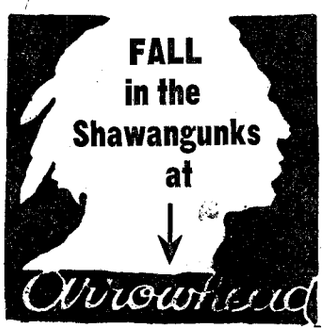

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The World Is a Globe

(*Continued from page 15*)

example, what were the feelings of Mr. Hurley when he flew to get Mao Tse-tung, but I imagine they resembled Chiang's when Mao reached Chungking. You might say that the flesh was willing but the spirit was weak. Nevertheless, the flight had to be made and the conference held, because Chinese Communists are a power; they are the power of the millions who support them. The French Communists, now one million strong, have similar ties with the French people. These things are not achieved by doctrinaire utterances and apt quotations, but by fact-finding, proof, organization, and struggle. There is nothing in the nature of the universe which decrees an everlasting delay to Marxism in America.

Platitudes, these? Well, let me add one more: The world is a globe, which turns always toward the sun.

Speaking of Socialism

(*Continued from page 9*)

work," says Article 118, "is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment."

Shall we therefore conclude by agreeing with Walter Lippmann that since such guarantees do not and cannot exist in capitalist America, the right to work ought to be stricken from the full employment bill in the same way as the French bourgeois republic of 1848 struck it from its constitution? I think not. The French ruling class eliminated the right to work because, as Marx points out, it saw behind those words the power of labor even though the actual content of the phrase could not be realized within the limits of capitalism. Our American reactionaries today look with similar apprehension on the right to work. They know that the right to work, which is conditioned on full employment, cannot be achieved under

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their beloved "free enterprise" except for relatively brief periods and under extraordinary circumstances such as war (during which incidentally, government controls restrict the freedom of "free enterprise"). At the same time they fear that once the right to work were embodied in law, even in the cautious form in which it was originally expressed in the Murray bill, it can in the hands of the people become a lever for moving the government toward those state capitalist measures, including nationalization of the banks and major industries, through which some approximation of guarantees for the right to work may become possible. Democratic state monopoly capitalism—as distinguished from reactionary state monopoly capitalism which the Nazis partly introduced in Germany—is, as Lenin pointed out, the threshold of socialism. Most Americans may not be ready for socialism, but who will deny that they are ready and determined on getting one of the things socialism can give them: full-time, year-round jobs?

Psychoanalytic Tradition

(*Continued from page* 13)

deeply disturbed because the attitude of his employees, which had always been one of devotion, changed for reasons outside his control. Instead of settling differences in an amicable way, they started to make belligerent and unreasonable demands. Although he was a highly resourceful person in most matters he felt utterly incapable of coping with this new situation, and reached such a measure of resentment and despair that he considered withdrawing from the business. In this instance the mere uncovering of his deep need for the devotion of people dependent on him sufficed to remedy the situation." (*Self-Analysis*, p. 90.) Horney goes on to explain (p. 93): "While a person is working at the implications of the neurotic trend his illusions, fears, vulnerabilities, and inhibitions are gradually loosened from their entrenchments. As a result he becomes less insecure, less isolated, less hostile, and the resultant improvement in his relationship with others, and with himself, in turn, makes the neurotic trend less necessary and increases his capacity to deal with it."

This is the first instalment of an article reprinted from "The American Journal of Psychiatry" by courtesy of that magazine and of the author, who is a New York psychiatrist. The subject is one about which considerable differences of opinion exist both among psychiatrists and laymen. We invite discussion from our readers. The concluding section of this article will appear next week.

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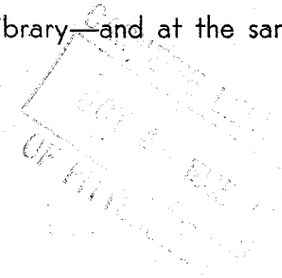

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